

## THE LONG LIFE OF SAINT CLEMENT OF OHRID. A CRITICAL EDITION

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### INTRODUCTION

The nearly one and a half century lasting scientifical studies have elucidated many aspects of the life and activities of St. Clement of Ohrid<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless a lot of questions are still disputable or require to be solved in a new way. In the first place stands the problem of the sources by means of which we reconstruct the biography of the prime-teacher of Bulgarian people. Their insufficiency and particularity provide a lot of embarassments. Periods and periods of the life of our eminent man of letters are lacking in whatever information. On the other hand, everything we have at our disposal belongs mostly to hagiography, known for it's unreliability as historical source. It have to be added, that our main sources are written in a time remoted by centuries from the events described. That's why it's necessary that a very careful work on the texts should be done in order the different information – strata be separated and a new scientifical edition of the literary source, based on all known today manuscripts, be prepared.

Scholars are unanimous when claiming that the main source for the life and activities of St. Clement of Ohrid is his Long Life, attributed to Theophylact of Bulgaria – archbishop of the Church of Bulgaria, holding the chair of Ohrid at the end of the XI and the beginning of the XII century. In fact this literary monument holds a place apart due to the opulens of information both for the time of the IX–X centuries and the time of it's presumable author. The Life have drawn the attention of many bookmen and scribes in different libraries round the world. In the XVII, XVIII and XIX centuries the first editions of the text – partial or full, appeared. From the middle of the last century till now several scientific editions, based on different manuscripts and previous editions have been made, but still a complete critical edition is not published. That made me undertake that uneasy task, by means of which I'll try to offer my contribution to the study of the St. Clement theme.

#### 1. The manuscript tradition and the editions of the text

Nine manuscripts are known today, in which the text of the Long St. Clement's Life is fully or partially preserved. Three of them contain the whole text of the work, the rest – larger or smaller parts of it. None of those manuscripts belongs to the time of

<sup>1</sup> The basic writings on St. Clement are collected by: Ильинский, Г. А., Опыт..., №№ 191–215, 2214–2248; Дуи чев, И., А. Кирмагова, А. Павнова. Кирило-Методиевска библиография, № 2, 3, 8, 9, 14, 15, 22, 23, 26, 27, 1436–1835, 4430–4573. Cf. also: Ильев, И. Климент Охридски. Дисертация; Станчев, Кр., Г. Попов. Климент Охридски. Especially for the sources cf.: Дуи чев, И. Климент Охридски..., 21–31. On Theophylact cf.: Theophylacti Achridensis Orationes, 11–37. On the question of the authorship of St. Clement's Life cf.: Оболенский, Д. Theophylactos of Ohrid.

origin of the literary monument. The examination of the manuscripts will take place in two groups: first the full-text group and after that – the fragmentary one, observing the chronological principal with regard to both of them.

1. The earliest in time of origin among the full-text manuscripts is that known among the scholars as the Ohrid (or Moscow) copy. It have been found by the Russian scholar Victor Grigorovich at the Ohrid church of St. Clement in 1845<sup>2</sup> and have been carried to Moscow. It's preserved in the Lenin Library today, No 113 in the Grigorovich collection. It's dated in the XIV century<sup>3</sup>. The copy is situated in a codex theologicus: 46 pages (285×200 mm), in two columns. Contents: p. 1–10<sup>v</sup> – theological text, sine καὶ πολιτείᾳ, ὁμολογίᾳ τε καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος, ἐπισκόπου Βουλγάρων, συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ ἀοιδίμου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς πρώτης Ιουστινιανῆς καὶ πάσης Βουλγαρίας, κυροῦ Θεοφυλάκτου, χρηματίσαντος ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολει μαῖστορος τῶν ῥητόρων». “The Life, activity, confession and a brief narrative of the miracles of our Father Saint Clement, bishop of the Bulgarians, composed by the most holy and famous archbishop of Justiniana Prima and of the entire Bulgaria sir Theophylactos, who happened to be chief rhetor at Constantinople”; p. 34<sup>v</sup>–46<sup>v</sup> – the Life of St. Nicolas of Myra (=BHC, 1349<sup>d</sup>). The superscription of St. Clement's Life supports the noticeable identification of Ohrid with Justiniana Prima, belonging to the beginning of the XII century<sup>4</sup>. Maybe our source is the earliest evidence of this theory, launched by the archbishops of Ohrid.

2. Another full-text copy of the Life, dated to the XV century<sup>5</sup>, is preserved in codex No 1143 at the Batopediou monastery, Mount Athos. The manuscript contains 404 pages (210×130mm). It is a menology for November. On pages 339–351<sup>v</sup> it contains a Service in Greek for St. Clement of Ohrid (for his fete – the 25th of November)<sup>6</sup>; on pages 352–404<sup>v</sup> is situated the Life of St. Clement. The superscription coincides with that in the Ohrid copy, but here we find added the sentence «εὐλόγησον πάτερ» (bless me, father), pronounced by the lay-reader in church during the service to ask the officiating priest for permission.

3. The third full-text copy is preserved in codex No 2 at the library of the University of Urbana, Illinois, USA<sup>7</sup>. The codex presents an artificial collection of fourteen different in content fragments of manuscripts (XVI–XVII c.), binded together in the XIX century, originating from Mount Athos (a total of 220 pages, shaped in the binding to size 210×150 mm). The fourth part of that corpus (pp. 25–84<sup>v</sup>) contains the Service and the Life of St. Clement of Ohrid (on pages 25–35 – the troparia, p. 36<sup>r</sup>–blank, on pages 37–84<sup>v</sup> – the Life). On the last page (versum) there is a note, not mentioned in the descriptions of that manuscript: «Ἐν ἔτει ζῷ κῷ η' ἐν μηνὶ φεβρουαρίου ἵνδ. β' ἐκοιμήθη ὁ ὄσιος παρὴρ ἡμῶν κῦρος Νεόφυτος καὶ προηγούμενος τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς μονῆς Λαύρας, δηλονότι Μαυρογονάτου ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Κιβοτόδη, ἐκ νήσου Πελοποννήσου». “In the year 7028 (=1520 A. D.), in the month of February, in the second indict, our sacred Father sir Neophytes, deputy-abbot of the reverent and saint basilical monastery Laura, namely Maurogonatos (not Kivotodes), native of the Peloponnesus island, passed away”. This note dates the copy of St. Clement's Life and Service to the beginning of the XVI century. The

<sup>2</sup> Григорович, В. И. Очерк путешествия..., с. 114.

<sup>3</sup> The most detailed description of the manuscript is given by Туницкий, Н. Л. Св. Климентъ..., 13–18.

<sup>4</sup> Prinzing, G. Entstehung..., 269–287.

<sup>5</sup> Eustathiadēs, S. et A. Vatopedinos. Κατάλογος..., 195. Cf. also: Никоритис, К. Неизвестни преписи..., 66–70 and fig. 14–67.

<sup>6</sup> On the Greek Services devoted to St. Clement of Ohrid cf.: Никоритис, К. Атонска книжовна традиция..., 269–412.

<sup>7</sup> Lowe, C. G. A byzantine manuscript..., 324–328.

superscription of the Life coincides with these in the Ohrid and the Batopediou copies. The orthographical peculiarities bring closer the Urbana and the Batopediou copies, which probably originate from a common photograph.

4. The earliest among the six fragmentary copies is the one situated in Codex Vaticanus graecus No 1409, pp. 348<sup>v</sup>=352<sup>v</sup>. The codex, containing miscellanea of XII-XIII century authors, originates from the middle of the XIII century (376 pages, 37 lines of the text on each page)<sup>8</sup>. The text initiates with paragraph 16: « Ἡ γὰρ ὁ Βορίσης οὗτος...» and closes at the beginning of paragraph 66: «... ὡς μὴ οὗτος μηχανάται καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο.» Larger and major omissions: paragraphs 47-55 are totally missing (the arrival of Clement, Naum and Angelarius to prince Boris; the dispatch of Clement to Koutmičevitsa). Paragraphs 60-61 are missing too (the end of Clement's work as a teacher and the replacement at the Bulgarian throne: Boris-Vladimir-Simeon; the meeting of Clement and Simeon). The copy starts not from the beginning of the Life. That's why it's entitled: «Ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος ἐπισκόπου Βουλγάρων» – “[An excerpt] of the Life of our holy Father Clement, bishop of the Bulgarians”. The title completely suits to the character of the excerpt.

5. One small fragment of St. Clement's Life is preserved in Codex graecus No 43 at Biblioteca Angelica in Rome<sup>9</sup>. The copy (XIV century) is situated on pages 183-183<sup>v</sup>. The codex contains miscellanea (256 pages, 255×168 mm in size). The excerpt under consideration starts from the very beginning of paragraph 25 and closes with the end of paragraph 28: «Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῇς ἐπισκοπῆς... τῷ ἐναντίῳ ὑποφθεγγόμενοι πνεύματι». It presents the exposition of St. Methodius' disciples (i. e. of Theophylact himself!) on the question of “procession of Holy Ghost” and St. Trinity. Another excerpt concerning the question of St. Trinity stands just before our text (p. 182<sup>v</sup>, lines 26-31). The excerpt of St. Clement's Life found in this codex is untitled, but this is not diminishing for the significance of the copy in determinating the manuscript tradition with a view to the authorship of the Life. On page 182<sup>v</sup>, lines 12-25, there is some information, derived from St. Clement's Life, but from paragraphs not included in the excerpt on page 183. On the margin there are two notes made by the same hand: versus the names of St. Cyril and St. Methodius – «οὗτοι πρῶτοι εὗρον τὰ γράμματα τῶν Βουλγάρων» – “They first invented the Bulgarian alphabet” and below: «Θεοφυλάκτου ἐπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἀγίου Κλήμεντος» – “[An excerpt] of the Life of Saint Clement, (written) by Theophylactos, bishop of Bulgaria”. The information found on page 182<sup>v</sup> concerns the conversion of the Bulgarians, the invention of the alphabet, the visit of St. Cyril and St. Methodius to Rome, the consecration of St. Methodius, the death of St. Cyril, the names of their main disciples and the date of St. Clement's death (according to paragraphs No 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 75 of St. Clement's Life). On the same page, lines 23-25 there is an exact copy of the beginning of paragraph 11 of the Life: «Κύριλλον δὲ τὸν ὄντως φιλόσοφον... τοῦ ποτηρίου τοῦ καινοῦ κοινωνήσοντα.» This fact suggests that the author of the copy of St. Clement's Life in codex No 43 at Biblioteca Angelica had near at hand a full-text copy of the writing, the title of which points out that Theophylact of Bulgaria is the author of the work.

6. An excerpt of St. Clement's Life is preserved also in codex No 382 at the Athoneite Iviron monastery<sup>10</sup>. The codex contains miscellanea – mainly antihaeretica. It's dated to the XV century. The excerpt under consideration is found on pages 681-683<sup>v</sup> initiating at the same place as the Vatican copy does (at the beginning of paragraph 16) and closes at the beginning of paragraph 34: «... ὅσα κακία λαβούμενη δυναστείας

<sup>8</sup> Examined by P. Gauthier. Deux œuvres..., 15-16.

<sup>9</sup> Muccio, G. P. Franchi de Cavalieri, Index codicum..., 87.  
<sup>10</sup> Lampros, S. P. Catalogue..., v. II, 114, No. 106.

εἰργάσατο.» Larger and major omissions: the whole paragraph 18 is missing (the characterization of Svetopolk); paragraphs 31, 32 and the beginning of 33 are missing too (the end of the dispute between St. Methodius' disciples and the Frankish clergy in the presence of Svetopolk). The copy presents a summary of the struggle against the Frankish clergy in Moravia on the question of “procession of Holy Ghost”. The excerpt is entitled: «Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὸν βίους καὶ τὰ θαύματα τῶν ἀγίων Μεθοδίου, Κυρίλλου καὶ Κλήμεντος πάνυ ὠραιωτάτου καὶ χρησιμωτάτου» – “[An excerpt] of his writing on the life and the miracles of the Saints Methodius, Cyril and Clement – excellent and very usefull”. This title don't makes it clear who the author of St. Clement's Life was. The copyist obviously had in mind somebody, whose name the readers were already aware of. This puzzle may be solved if we take into consideration that the excerpt of St. Clement's Life in Codex Ivironensis No 382 is preceded by a writing of Theophylact of Bulgaria, entitled: «Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας τοῦ Θεοφυλάκτου τὰ Καΐρια» – “[An excerpt] of the writing of Theophylact, archbishop of Bulgaria, τὰ Καΐρια”. In this way we determine that the copyist-compilator of the Codex Ivironensis had near at hand the Life of Saint Clement, the title of which presented Theophylact of Bulgaria to be the author. In the title of the excerpt of St. Clement's Life he attributed it to “the same” (author) – i. e. to the author of the preceding work (=Theophylact).

7. At the library of the National Assembly of Greece (Boule) is preserved a XVI century codex (No 83) containing a brief fragment of St. Clement's Life (pp. 181<sup>v</sup>-184<sup>v</sup>)<sup>11</sup>. The text starts at the same place as the Vatican copy does (at the beginning of paragraph 16) and closes at the end of paragraph 28. Larger and major omissions: paragraph 18 is missing (the characterization of Svetopolk) and so are paragraphs 22 (the end) – 26 (a part of the death-bed admonitions of St. Methodius and the beginning of the disputes between his disciples and the Frankish clergy). The excerpt is entitled: «Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὸν βίους καὶ τὰ θαύματα τῶν ἀγίων Μεθοδίου, Κυρίλλου καὶ Κλήμεντος περὶ τοῦ πότε τὸ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἔθνος ἐδέξατο τὸ ἀγιον βάπτισμα, ἀρχηγοῦ ὄντος τούτων ὁ Βορίσης» – “[An excerpt] of his writing on the life and the miracles of the Saints Methodius, Cyril and Clement concerning the time when the Bulgarian people accepted the holy baptism, Boris being their ruler”. The superscription is obviously borrowed from the Iviron copy, but the copyist neglected the fact that the words “his writing” are unsufficient for the readers to understand who the author of the Life is, because the preceding text in the Codex Athenensis (Boule) No 83 is not a work of Theophylact's (as it is in Codex Ivironensis). That's why the Athens copy gives no information on the authorship of St. Clement's Life.

8. At the Athoneite Dionysiou monastery are preserved two fragments of St. Clement's Life. The first of them is situated in codex No 280 (XVI century), pp. 362-363<sup>v</sup><sup>12</sup>. The text starts at the same place and has the same superscription as the Iviron copy does. The fragment closes (interrupted) at paragraph 19 with the words: «... τί δὲ οὐκ ἡπείλει φοβερὸν ὁ μέγας τῷ ἀρχοντι.»

9. The second Dionysiou copy is found in a XVI century codex too (No 274) on pages 509<sup>v</sup>-516<sup>13</sup>. The superscription of the excerpt is as follows: «Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὸν βίους καὶ τὰ θαύματα τῶν ἀγίων Μεθοδίου, Κυρίλλου καὶ Κλήμεντος, συγγραφεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας Θεοφυλάκτου, ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἀγίου Κλήμεντος τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ κειμένου ἐν τῇ Ἀχρίδι, πάνυ ὠραιωτάτου καὶ χρησιμωτάτου» – “[An excerpt] of his writing on the lives and the miracles of the Saints Methodius, Cyril and Clement, composed by the Saint archbishop of Bulgaria Theophylactos; from the

<sup>11</sup> Λαμπρού, Σπ. Π. Κατάλογος..., 228.

<sup>12</sup> Lamprou, S. P. Catalogue..., v. I, 400, No. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, 395, No. 107.

excellent and very usefull Life of the Saint thaumaturge Clement, who lays in Ohrid". At the beginning of the superscription the inadvertent copyist has made the same mistake as the copyist of the Athens and the First Dionysiou copies did: he has forgotten to determine whose work is excerpting. Becoming aware of it he added Theophylact's name and a short version of the title of his St. Clement's Life. In this way one poor in structure, but at least more explicit (what about the authorship of St. Clement's Life) superscription emerged. The copy under consideration starts, as well as all fragmentary copies (except for the one at Biblioteca Angelica) at the beginning of paragraph 16 and closes as the Iviron copy does – at the beginning of paragraph 34. Larger and major omissions: both Dionysiou copies omit paragraph 18, while the copy in codex No 274 (the second Dionysiou copy) omits paragraphs 31,32 and the beginning of 33 too (as the Iviron copy does).

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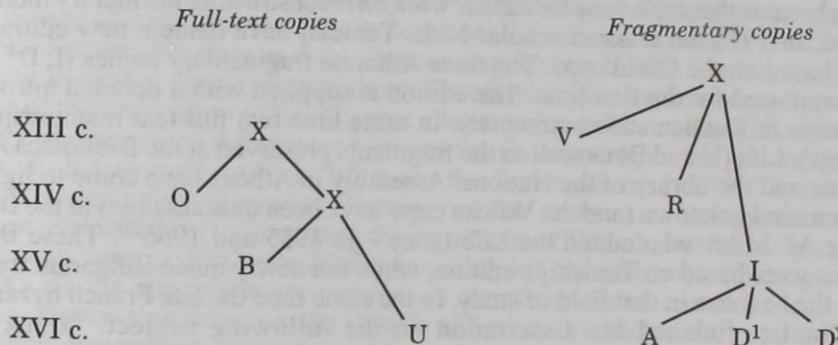
The survey of the manuscript tradition and the profound textological research if all different copies lead to some conclusions<sup>14</sup>. On the base of the ortographical and other formal peculiarities of the texts it can be assumed that they originate from two independent prime sources and according to this feature they separate in two groups. The first one includes the three full-text copies – Ohridensis, Batopediensis and Urbanensis. Their ortographical peculiarities establish the understanding that the earliest among them – the Ohridensis (XIV century) originates from one earlier copy (designated by "X" on the scheme) which have existed in Ohrid. From this copy (not existing today) originate the other two full-text copies: not directly but through one intermediate copy (also not existing today), designated by "X" on the scheme, contemporary to the Ohrid copy (to be found today in Moscow). Thereby can be explained on the one hand the similarities and the unimportant differences between the Ohrid copy and the other two full-text copies. The great resemblance between the Batopediou and the Urbana copy on the other hand indicates that they originate from a common prime source.

All the fragmentary copies of St. Clement's Life come under the other group. The earliest among them (from the middle of the XIII century) is the Vatican copy, distinguished for it's excellent orthography and good presentation of the proper names. It has a common prime source with other two copies (Rome and Iviron), though their appearance took place rather later: the first in the XIV century and the second – in the XV century. A great similarity (and even identity in the case of the Dionysiou copy No 274) is observed between the Iviron copy and the fragments from Athens, Dionysiou No 280 and Dionysiou No 274. It indicates that all three of them are copied out from the Iviron copy in the XVI century. A connection between the first and the second group of copies (full-text and fragmentary) have to be supposed back in time in the sence that after all they originate from their common protograph of St. Clement's Life at the end of the XI or at the beginning of the XII century. In present state of research and with the available sources we have to restrict our investigation of the stemma codicum. That's why on the scheme there are two stemmata delineated, separate for each group of copies. For the sake of convenience and clarity of the scheme the following siglae for the manuscripts will be used:

<sup>14</sup> In the presented filiation of manuscripts I accepted the achievements of P. Gauthier's studies (Deux œuvres..., 12–19), but regarding to the data on the authorship of St. Clement's Life derived from the manuscript tradition, we arrive at contrary conclusions. Not taking into consideration that the Rome (Biblioteca Angelica) copy and the Iviron copy are indicative of Theophylact's authorship, Gautier considered the manuscript tradition proving Theophylact not to be the author of St. Clement's Life.

A	Athenensis. The copy in codex No 83 at the Library of the National Assembly (Boule) in Athens.
B	Batopediensis. The copy in codex No 1143 at the library of the Batopediou monastery, Mount Athos.
D <sup>1</sup>	Dionysiensis Primus. The copy in codex No 280 according to the catalogue of the library of the Dionysiou monastery, Mount Athos.
D <sup>2</sup>	Dionysiensis Secundus. The copy in codex No 274 according to the catalogue of the library of the Dionysiou monastery, Mount Athos.
I	Ivironensis. The copy in codex No 382 at the library of the Iviron monastery, Mount Athos.
O	Ohridensis. The copy in codex No 113 at the V. I. Lenin library in Moscow (brought from Ohrid).
R	Romanus. The copy in codex No 43 at Biblioteca Angelica in Rome.
U	Urbanensis. The copy in codex No 2 at the University library in Urbana, Illinois, USA.
V	Vaticanus. The copy in codex Vaticanus graecus No 1409 at the library of the Vatican.

#### STEMMA CODICUM



The determination of the manuscript tradition in preservation of St. Clement's Long Life is of great importance for it's critical edition. In addition on the base of the observation carried out a conclusion concerning the authorship of this literary monument can be drawn. We have seen that the three full-text and two fragmentary (R and D<sup>2</sup>) copies include in their superscriptions the name of the Ohrid archbishop Theophylact of Bulgaria. In the title of the Iviron copy his name is implicit and in the Athens and First Dionysiou copies the name of the work's author is missing by mistake, but this two copies originate from the Iviron copy, so that the omission of Theophylact's name in their superscriptions does not matter. In both groups of copies, full-text and fragmentary, already in the XIV century (the time O and R are dated to) there is an explicit reference to the author of the Life. According to both of them (O and R) he is Theophylact of Ohrid. On the other hand, we have seen that the Rome copy, as well as the Vatican originate from a common protograph, existing before the middle of the XIII century (the time V is dated to). Thereby the attribution of St. Clement's Life to archbishop Theophylact is traced back to the first half of the XIII century, i. e. about one and a half century after the original was created. In addition the manuscript tradition almost unanimously points out the famous head of the Bulgarian Church Theophylact to be the author of St. Clement's Life.

In the past centuries undoubtedly existed more copies of St. Clement's Life, that later disappeared. We have indirect information, preserved by the authors of the first printed editions, at least for three of them. In 1665 Leo Allatius edited in a book of his three fragments of the Life<sup>15</sup> without mentioning the manuscript he derived them from. In 1772 Gregorios Konstantinides and Michael Gora edited in the Albanian town of Moschopolis the whole text of the Life<sup>16</sup> using ancient manuscripts for that purpose, unfortunately not described. At the end of the same century Ambrosius Pampereus have done the same thing editing in Vienna the text of the Life<sup>17</sup> independently of the Moschopolis monks. It is known that he also used an ancient manuscript, property of the St. Naum monastery at the Ohrid lake. The same manuscript has been used probably by the Moschopolis editors, because the monastery in question has financed their edition and because both editions (the Moschopolis' and Pampereus') are too similar in orthography.

The first scientifical edition of St. Clement's Life is made by the renowned slavist Franz Miklošich<sup>18</sup> who established the Greek text according to the Moschopolis and Vienna editions using the Allatius' fragments too. The edition is supplied with a good introduction and a translation in Latin. A division of the text into 29 chapters has been introduced. The numerous errors of the incunabula have been amended. The Miklošich edition became the stable base for further work on reconstructing the literary monument's original. In 1918 the Russian scholar N. L. Tunickij have made a new edition of the Life<sup>19</sup> based on the Ohrid copy. The three Athonite fragmentary copies (I, D<sup>1</sup> and D<sup>2</sup>) have been used for the first time. The edition is supplied with a detailed introduction, translation in Russian and commentary. In same time two full-text manuscripts of St. Clement's Life (U and B) as well as the fragments preserved at the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome and the library of the National Assembly in Athens have come to light. They have remaind unknown (and the Vatican copy have been unaccessible) to the Bulgarian scholar Al. Milev who edited the Life twice – in 1955 and 1966<sup>20</sup>. These Bulgarian editions were based on Tunickij's edition, while the newly made Bulgarian translation is still the best one in that field of study. In the same time the late French byzantologist Paul Gautier finished his dissertation on the following subject: "Deux œuvres hagiographiques du Pseudo-Theophylacte. Thèse de Doctorat de troisième cycle, Paris 1968"<sup>21</sup>. The work is devoted to St. Clement's Life and to the Life of the fifteen martyrs of Tiberiopolis – two writings that are not of Theophylact in the author's (p. Gautier) opinion. The Greek text is edited according to all copies including the Allatius' fragments. The edition is supplied with a translation in French, commentary and a detailed introduction. P. Gautier did not manage to publish his dissertation that might be a good base for the further studies. And yet we have to render to the eminent French byzantologist his due for establishing an excellent shape of the Greek text of the Life, as well as for putting into use the copies that remained neglected by the scholars up to his time.

## 2. When was the Long St. Clement's Life written and who was its author?

The knowledge of manuscript tradition in preserving the text of the Long St. Clement's Life is the ground for better solution of a number of important questions

<sup>15</sup> Allatius, L. In Roberti Creytoni..., 259–262.

<sup>16</sup> For this edition see detailes in: М и л е в, А. Г р ў ц к и т е ж и т и я..., 13–14.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, 14–16.

<sup>18</sup> Vita s. Clementis, episcopi Bulgarorum, Graece edidit Franciscus Miklošich, Vindobonae 1847.

<sup>19</sup> Т у н и ч и й, Л. Н. М а т е р и а л ы д л я и с т о р и и, ж и з н и и д е я т е л ь н о с т и у ч е н и к о в с в в . К и р и л л а и М е ф о д и я. Сергиев Посадъ, 1918.

<sup>20</sup> Теофилакт, Климент Охридски. С., 1955; Г р ў ц к и т е ж и т и я на Климент Охридски. С., 1966.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. note 14 Relative to St. Clement's Life are pages 3–19 and 24–225.

connected with that literary monument. One of them is the problem of the time the writing can be assigned to. The middle of the XIII century, when the Vatican copy have been made, may be accepted as a terminus ante quem. The terminus post quem we have to set up in the beginning of the X century, though St. Clement have passed away in 916<sup>22</sup>. This is the starting position for our chronological determination. For lack of direct information we derive our arguments from the evidence offered by the text itself. The overall perusal of the writing presses on the view that it has been written by a highly educated cleric whose mother tongue has been the Greek. He has lived in Ohrid and has been fully aware of the legacy left by St. Clement in that town – writings, churches, monastery. The first Greek consecrated archbishop of the Bulgarian Church in Ohrid after the country fell under Byzantine domination took his place in 1036–1037 as we know<sup>23</sup>. It means that the terminus post quem have to be removed to the thirties of the XI century. A passage of the Life points definitely the end of the XI century to be the time of eventual creation of the writing. The allusion is about the quite detailed presentation of the dogmatical dispute between the Cyrilo-Methodian disciples and the Frankish clergy in Moravia<sup>24</sup>. Renown specialists in christian dogmatics have already expressed the opinion that the dispute on the "procession of Holy Ghost", described in detail by the quoted passage, is presented from the stands of the Byzantine Church taken after the autumn of 1089<sup>25</sup>. The same year in September in Constantinople, the capital of the empire, was in session a synod<sup>26</sup> discussing the future rapprochement with the Roman Church after the definite break of all kinds of relations in 1054, known as the Great Schism. The deacon at the Constantinople church of St. Sophia, disciple of the eminent Byzantine theologian and rhetor Theophylact (in that time already holding the throne of the archbishop of Ohrid), sent a letter to his teacher asking his advice on the matters of dogmatical differences between the Constantinopolitan and the Roman Churches. In his answer entitled "What are the Latins accused of"<sup>27</sup> Theophylact presented the view of the Byzantine Theology at that moment on the question of the "procession of Holy Ghost". Comparing the arguments of Theophylact's treatise against the Latins with these of the Cyrilo-Methodian disciples from the quoted passage of St. Clement's Life the specialists are unanimous about their total coincidence. In this connection of great significance is the attitude of the Life's author to the pope in Rome. It's absolutely benevolent, without any hint at the sharp dispute that brought the two Churches to a definite disunity. All dogmatical violations connected with the Holy Ghost are ascribed exclusively to the Frankish clergy to which every possible abuses and offences were addressed. That's what the atmosphere in Constantinople was at the eve of the synod in preparation concerning the reprochement with the Roman Church. Under the circumstances between the autumn of 1089 and the spring of 1091 (when the synod was planned to take place) St. Clement's Life have been written most probably. There is another detail in the final part of the writing that may be of use in introducing more preciseness in determination of the time when the work emerged. The passage in question is the one where a prayer is addressed to St. Clement asking him as a saint to help his

<sup>22</sup> Chapter XXVII, paragraph 75 reads: "It (the corps of St. Clement) was buried in the time of the Bulgarian tsar Simeon on the 27th of July 6424..." The year 6424 gives 916 A. D. (6424–5508=916).

<sup>23</sup> З л а т а р с к и, В. История..., т. 2, с. 42, бел. 1.

<sup>24</sup> C h a p t e r s VIII and IX, paragraphs 25–30.

<sup>25</sup> J u g i e, M. L'auteur de la vie saint Clement de Bulgarie. – Echos d'Orient, 23, 1924, 5–8; P o l a c h, O. Kdo je autorem tak zv. „Bulgarské legendy“? – Acta Academiae Velehradensis, XVIII, 1947, 53–74. A detailed review of different opinions expressed on the authorship of the Long St. Clement's Life is made by: М и л е в, А л. Г р ў ц к и т е ж и т и я..., 31–71; G a u t i e r, P. Deux œuvres hagiographiques..., 5–11, 24–35; O b o l e n s k y, D. Theophylactos of Ohrid.

<sup>26</sup> B e c k, H.-G. Kirche und theologische Literatur..., p. 57; G r u m e l, V. Les Regestes, No 923.

<sup>27</sup> The text of Theophylact's treatises can be find in: M i g n e, J.-P. PG, t. 126, col. 221–250; Theophylacti Achridensis orationes..., 245–285.

people be saved from the blows of the "Scythian sword" which was "soaked with Bulgarian blood"<sup>28</sup>. The passage obviously is a reflection of some devastating barbarous incursion in the Bulgarian land. After we accepted the hypothesis that St. Clement's Life was written between the autumn of 1089 and the spring of 1091, we have to find out what incursions have taken place in the land of the Bulgarians during that period. I am inclined to join the assumption of some scholars that the mentioned "Scythian" incursion may be some episode of the bitter and bloody struggle of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) against the Pechenegs in the period 1087–1091<sup>29</sup>. In 1087 they devastated Moesia and were expelled with difficulty from Eastern Thrace. In 1088 the emperor himself was routed with his army in Moesia and was forced to flee for his life. In 1089 the Pechenegs were stopped by the means of treaties, presents or by using another nomadic people – the Coumanians as their enemies. In the spring of 1090 the Pechenegs forced once more their way deeply in Thrace and imperiled the capital of Byzantium itself. The direct and real risk for the empire did not cease before the famous battle of Levounion near Maritsa river on the 29th of April, 1091, when the Pechenegs were totally routed and annihilated as potential invaders in the lands of the Balkan peninsula. In the time of the dramatic events of 1090–1091, field of action of which were the Bulgarian lands under Byzantine domination, the horror and suffering of the war were borne to a great extent by the Bulgarian people. The echo of the battles carried out in Moesia and Thrace reached all regions inhabited by the Bulgarians, though we do not have any direct information on Pechenegs' incursions in the western parts of the Balkan peninsula. Furthermore the story about those events according to the Byzantine woman writer Anna Comnena is nevertheless concentrated on the main line of the military operations, led by her father – the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus and the fact, that she gave a non-comprehensive account of all directions of the Pechenegs' incursions, is not a guarantee that their hordes have not invaded the western Bulgarian regions too. The devastation of Philippopolis and the region of Upper Thracian Lowland by the Pechenegs<sup>30</sup> have been enough for the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions, including the Ohrid area, to get stunned. Taking into consideration these historical events, the year 1090 seems to me the most acceptable as the time when the Long St. Clement's Life was written.

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After we determined the time when our literary monument have emerged what follows is to find out who its author was. I'll enumerate once more the conditions his personality should fulfil: highly educated theologian and a writer qualified in rhetorics; a cleric who lived and worked in Ohrid at the end of the XI and perfectly versed in Greek. The manuscript tradition points out that the Ohrid archbishop Theophylact was the author of St. Clement's Life. The information we have in regard to him is not ever so much. He was born round the middle of the XI century in the island of Euboea (today in Greece), later became a disciple of the famous Byzantine philosopher, theologian, historian and statesman Michael Psellos in Constantinople. Theophylact was brought up as one of the most learned man in Byzantium in his time – a theologian and rhetor, a specialist in ancient Greek literature, a poet and writer. Due to those qualities of his he hold the high post of magister rhetorum in Constantinople. He was simultaneously a deacon of the patriarch at the Great church of St. Trinity in the time of Nicolaos III Grammaticos (1084–1111). At the same time he became a teacher and tutor of the young

<sup>28</sup> Chapter XXIX, paragraph 80. Cf. the opinion of: Б о р о н о в, А. Главнейшие источники..., 119–125.

<sup>29</sup> A detailed analysis of the sources and reconstruction of the events are made by: З л а т а р с к и й, В. История..., т. 2, 182–209.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, p. 197.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the son of emperor Michael VII Douka (1071–1078). On Epiphany, the 6th of January, 1088, Theophylact delivered a salutatory speech addressed to the emperor (Alexius Comnenus) as the magister rhetorum, according to the Byzantine ceremonial of the XI century. Soon after that, but not later than the autumn of 1089 he was suddenly nominated as the head of the Bulgarian Church and left for his residence in Ohrid. Already there he answered the letter of his disciple Nicolaos who held his master's post of deacon at the church of St. Trinity in the capital. As it was mentioned above, that reply was a treatise on the occasion of the dogmatical lapses of the Roman Church and was destined for the synod in session during the autumn of 1089 in Constantinople. It's not known for what reasons Theophylact was sent suddenly to Ohrid. According to some scholars in that way he was moved away from the capital where his presence was already undesirable. The complaints of the archbishop in "exile" to different more or less close relatives and to the entourage of the emperor's family were numerous, but they do not resulted in his reprieving and Bulgaria became later a grave for him<sup>31</sup>.

Theophylact's episcopate was chequered with the tempestuous events occurred at the end of the XI and the beginning of the XII centuries in the Balkan territories of Byzantium. The incursions of Pechenegs, Serbs, crusaders of the First crusade and the Norman bands of Bohemond of Tarentum were repulsed by the meance of great efforts and casualties. When peace occurred, the archbishop continued to fight this time against the fiscal officers who infringed on his economical interests. Theophylact had a lot of troubles with his disobedient congregation, as well as with his suffragan bishops who were not always submissive to him. The end of his life (and probably of his episcopate too) happened to be in 1125–1126, as it is supposed. To the pen of the Ohrid archbishop belong a great number of writings of different genres – secular and ecclesiastical. He wrote exegeses to all books of the New Testament and to some of the Old Testament prophets. His nearly one hundred and thirty preserved letters, addressed to different people on various occasions, hold a place apart among his works. They reflected the full-blooded pattern of life in the Bulgarian lands at the end of the XI and the beginning of the XII centuries. Two Lifes – of St. Clement of Ohrid and of the Fifteen Tiberiopolis' martyrs, are attributed to Theophylact. These writings are first-rate sources for the Bulgarian history in the IX–X centuries and in many respects their information is unique by nature. On the question of the authorship of those two writings a long lasting dispute is going on. In my opinion the arguments in favour of Theophylact's authorship are definitely outweighing. Here are the major of them:

1. The study of the manuscript tradition indicates that Theophylact's name stood in the superscription of the earliest copies.

2. The presentation of the dogmatical controversy on the "procession of Holy Ghost", which had taken up a lot of space, is an author's resume of Theophylact's own views on that question.

3. The St. Clement of Ohrid theme is permanently present in Theophylact's works. He is the author of honour of the saint giving thus an example to his successors to the Ohrid chair<sup>32</sup>.

4. The language and style of St. Clement's Life are the language and style of Theophylact's writings. Even the free quoting of the Bible in the Lifes and in his indisputable works is identical.

<sup>31</sup> In his recent book (*Six Byzantine Portraits*, Oxford 1988, 34–82) D. O b o l e n s k y offered a new explanation: Theophylact was a capable and legitimate executor of Byzantine policy in Bulgaria. His complaints and negative attitude to his congregation were the result of a literary convention of that time and an often encountered phenomenon in that genre of Byzantine literature.

<sup>32</sup> On the hymnography cycle, devoted to the memory of St. Clement of Ohrid, cf.: Н и х о р и т и с, К. Атонска книжовна традиция..., 269–412.

### 3. The Long St. Clement's Life as a historical source

Theophylact of Ohrid lived and worked about two centuries after St. Clement. That's why the information he used bears the feature of remoteness from the time described by the writing. We may ask and try to answer the question: where the author derived from the information for reconstructing the life and activity of his hero? At the end of the XI century the Long Lifes of the brother-saints Cyril and Methodius existed already and it was possible to obtain information from them concerning the young age and the Moravian period of St. Clement's life. There existed too a Short Life of the two eminent fellow-enlighteners and learned men – St. Clement and St. Naum, compiled by a disciple of theirs in Bulgaria immediately after the end of their lives (st. Naum passed away in 910, St. Clement – in 916). We have today at our disposal copies of the Lifes of the prime-teachers of the Slavs, while only the second half of the St. Clement and St. Naum Life is preserved<sup>33</sup>. So that we do not know what kind of information was probably used by Theophylact obtaining the complete literary monument. At the end I have to mention ad hoc that the popular legends in the Ohrid region, dedicated to our eminent enlighteners, saints and learned men, are wide spread during the whole prolonged period from the beginning of the X century till nowadays<sup>34</sup>. The compiler of St. Clement's Life have been influenced by those legends too, as we shall see.

I'll try to set forth below how the major points of the activity of the brother-saints Cyril and Methodius and of their disciples (before they reached Bulgaria and after that) are presented. I'll compare that information (at the proper place with the sources mentioned above). The major information we find in St. Clement's Life concerning the initial activity of Constantine the Philosopher and his brother Methodius is as follows<sup>35</sup>. The Slavonic alphabet is invented by the two brothers for the purpose of the Christianization of the Bulgarian people. Not even a word is mentioned about the so-called Moravian mission, entrusted to them by the Byzantine emperor Michael III (842–867) at the request of the Moravian prince Rostislav (846–870). The solemn reception and earthly welcome in Rome by pope Hadrian II (867–872) is ascribed solely to the apostolic feat of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, that evoked the admiration of the Roman pontiff. Not even a word is mentioned about the relics of St. Clement of Rome they were carrying as a present for the pope, as well as about the consecration of the Slavonic Holy Scriptures and the legalization of the Slavonic liturgy. Constantine lived only ten days as a monk by the name of Cyril (in his Long Life – 50!). The date of his death is not mentioned (in his Long Life it is perfectly determined – on the 14th of February 869).

What about St. Methodius' life and activities<sup>36</sup>, St. Clement's biographer did not understand his episcopal title. He is introduced as the bishop of Moravos, town in Pannonia instead of what we learn from his Long Life: he was consecrated at first bishop of Panonia and later of Moravia too. St. Methodius is presented as godfather of prince Boris of Bulgaria and that before he became bishop of Moravia. All that facts are not confirmed by the Long Life of the Slavonic prime-teacher. The controversy with the Frankish clergy, propagating Christianity among the Moravian Slavs, is set forth laying the stress only on the different interpretation of the question of "Procession of Holy Ghost". In St. Methodius' Life it's mentioned indeed that in Moravia there were

<sup>33</sup> Иванов, Й. БСМ, 305–311.

<sup>34</sup> Антик, В. Климент и Наум во народната традиция. Скопје, 1982.

<sup>35</sup> Cf.: Chapter II, paragraph 4–7; Chapter III, paragraph 8–12 and Chapter IV, paragraph 15–16 of St. Clement's Life and respectively Chapters XIV–XVIII of the Long Life of St. Cyril (in: Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения, т. 3, 104–109) and Chapters V–VII of the Long Life of St. Methodius (in: Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения, т. 3, 187–192).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Chapter II, paragraphs 13–24 of St. Clement's Life and Chapters II–XVII of the Long Life of St. Methodius (in: Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения, т. 3, 187–192).

"people infected with the Filioque heresy"<sup>37</sup>, but that conception of theirs is not presented as a motive for their struggle against St. Methodius. The main point of the dispute has been the right of Methodius to teach in lands, part of the missionary territory of the Frankish Church. Theophylact have put into the mouth of St. Methodius' disciples Clement and Gorazd his own views on the question of the "procession of Holy Ghost" in the way matters stand at the end of the XI century and not in the way they have been considered two centuries earlier at the time of the Moravian mission of St. Cyril and St. Methodius and the following years of episcopal service of St. Methodius in Moravia. The controversy on the legitimacy of using the Slavonic language in liturgy, which was considered inadmissible by the Frankish clergy, is not even mentioned by the author of St. Clement's Life. For him the main point on which the dispute in Moravia was carried on was the question of what kind of Christian doctrine have to be propagated among the people – that confessed by St. Methodius and his disciples, functionaries of the Orthodox Church, or that of Viching and the Frankish clergy, officials of the Roman Catholic Church. According to St. Clement's Life St. Methodius served as a prelate for twenty four years<sup>38</sup>. If we take into consideration the years he was abbot of the Polychron monastery on the Olympus mountain in Asia Minor (consecrated in 861) as well as those which follow up to his consecration as bishop of Pannonia in 869, from 861 to his death in 885 twenty four years are reckoned indeed. Nevertheless that reckoning as a whole is not lacking in defects and conventionalities. By the way St. Clement's biographer did not mention (probably did not know) the date of St. Methodius' death too (the 6th of April, 885).

The revealing of the influence of the ancient St. Clement's and St. Naum's Life over Theophylact's writing is more complicated. As I mentioned the so-called First Bulgarian Life of St. Naum is only the final part of the lost St. Clement's and St. Naum's biography, written in the X century by a disciple of theirs in Devol. That appears clearly from many passages of the text. The beginning of the writing is as follows: "Brethren, let priest Naum – that brother, companion and fellow-martyr of the blessed Clement, not be left without commemoration..." Further the author who remained unknown for the following generations, talking about things already mentioned before, writes: "When Clement was nominated bishop, the same pious tsar Simeon sent his fellow Naum to teach instead of him. And he (=Naum), similarly accomplishing deeds pleasing to God..." That quotation shows that in the lost initial part there were mentioned for example St. Clement's work as a teacher and the "pleasing to God deeds" he accomplished. Further we read: "Let it be known too to everyone who hold them in reverence by every means, that the heretics, *as it was mentioned above...*" The anonymous St. Clement's and St. Naum's biographer mentions at last that his aim was to describe the life and the activities of the two saint fathers and teachers of the Bulgarian people, what he have done actually, despite the meager sources available. The information on St. Clement of Ohrid we find in the preserved part of the St. Clement's and St. Naum's Life are not enough, but fully coincide with what Theophylact has written. In the first place come the "sufferings caused by the heretics", i. e. by the Frankish clergy in Moravia mentioned in both Lifes. The consecration of St. Clement as bishop by the order of tsar Simeon is mentioned by both literary monuments too. The date of St. Clement's death, mentioned by Theophylact, is probably borrowed also from the lost initial part of the anonymous Bulgarian Life. The unknown biographer, a disciple of St. Clement's and St. Naum's, couldn't but know that date because of being a witness of the close of the life of two Bulgarian prime-

<sup>37</sup> The borrowed from Greek terminus "Filioque heresy" designates the adherents of the conception that the Holy Ghost is proceeding from the Son (of God) as well as from God. That addition the Christian dogmatics owes to the Roman Catholic Church. That can be expressed in Latin by the terminus "Filioque" ("and from the Son too" in a literal translation). Cf.: The Long Life of St. Methodius, Chapter XII (in: Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения, т. 3, р. 190).

<sup>38</sup> Chapter VI, paragraph 23.

teachers. On St. Naum's death he writes: "Thus he passed away in peace with God on the 23th of December. Let it be known also that priest Naum passed away 6 years before bishop Clement." The time of St. Naum's death is not absolutely dated, but in relation to the year of St. Clement's decease. Using once that method the anonymous biographer should have mentioned in the initial (lost) part of the Life the exact date when St. Clement was no more. Only on that condition the unknown biographer could afford not to date exactly an event (St. Naum's death) at the end of his writing, but offer actually to the readers a reference to another passage of his work for specification of the chronology. If that is so, we have no choice but to accept that Theophylact have realy borrowed the precise date when St. Clement of Ohrid passed away from the anonymous Bulgarian biographer.

After all mentioned so far we can already answer the question: to what extent did Theophylact know and use the literary monuments, dedicated to the activity of the brother-saints Cyril and Methodius and their disciples in Bulgaria, available at his time while writing the Life of St. Clement? I have to point out right away that the numerous mistakes and omission of a number of important evidences are indicative for Theophylact's ignorance and unemployment of the Long Lifes of the Slavonic prime-teachers as a source of concrete data, or he used them only loosely and most freely. The information on the activity of the two brothers connected with the conversion and enlightening of the Bulgarian people and particularly of prince Boris I are of a legendary origin. In the period of the Byzantine domination the patriotic disposed learned men of Bulgaria used the authority and fascination of St. Cyril's and St. Methodius' images to increase the spirit of the Bulgarian people. Thus the legends connecting the life and activities of the two Slavonic teachers and inventors of the alphabet with the period of conversion of Bulgaria emerged. An echo of those legends is preserved in the so-called Thessalonica legend<sup>39</sup> and in Cyril's Assumption<sup>40</sup> – literary monuments which emerged probably in the time of Byzantine domination in the lands of Bulgaria. What about the incompletely preserved Bulgarian St. Clement's and St. Naum's Life we may indubitably accept that the Ohrid archbishop have used that literary monument. The data from its final part are borrowed unchanged in Theophylact's writing. That allows me to assume that the same have happened to the information on St. Clement that was available in the initial part of the work, which did not come to us.

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The analysis of Theophylact's writing shows that the author gave a tendentious turn to the interpretation and presentation of the facts<sup>41</sup>. It was already mentioned that the invention of the Slavonic alphabet and translation of the Holy Scriptures made by St. Cyril and St. Methodius is put forward as a token of their anxiety for the Bulgarian people not understanding the books written in Greek, which was an obstacle to its conversion to the Christian faith. It's even claimed that St. Methodius predisposed to himself and converted prince Boris of Bulgaria, with whom he was on close terms. At the same time not a word is mentioned about the so-called Moravian mission of the brother-saints and Slavonic prime-teachers, as well as about their struggle against the trilinguism, crowned with a historical victory. The Slavonic liturgy in Moravia, as well as the one in Bulgarian language later in Bulgaria are not even mentioned. All those mistakes and omissions in Theophylact's exposé can be explained if we take into consideration the situation (at the end of the XI century) and the author's purposes. Two decades have not passed yet since the Bulgarian people lost its political independence

<sup>39</sup> Иванов, Й. БСМ, 281–283.

<sup>40</sup> Агелов, Б. Из старата... литература, 36–44.

<sup>41</sup> Cf.: Тунецкий, Н. Л. Св. Климентъ, епископъ словенски..., 57–61.

at the beginning of the XI century and to the throne of the Bulgarian patriarch came Leo the Paphlagonian – a protégé of the Byzantine emperor, "first of the rhomaioi" who took over the spiritual government of the Bulgarian diocese. All high ecclesiastical posts were occupied by Byzantine clerics and the liturgy in some churches once again was heard in the odious and incomprehensible Greek language. The whole system of spiritual life was reversed according to the canons of the Byzantine Church, though the Bulgarian Archbishopric was subordinated directly and solely to the Byzantine emperor in the field of administration and law. The nominated by Constantinople archbishops took care of the deprivation of the spiritual and ethnic individuality of the Bulgarian people, of its transformation into subjects of the Byzantine basileus, designated by the non (ethnically) differentiating name of rhomaioi. Theophylact himself served those purposes too as "the archbishop of the entire Bulgaria" in Ohrid. That's why on his arriving to his see he wrote down a Life of the famous Bulgarian saint, in Greek at that, so that the biography of St. Clement composed by his unknown disciple should disappear entirely, as well as the memory for what he (St. Clement) realy accomplished and what was he like.

For the same purpose the brother-saints Cyril and Methodius are closely connected with the Bulgarian people in the period of its transition to the bosom of Christian Church. Through their benefactions Theophylact hints at Byzantium's merits for the spiritual improvement of the Bulgarians and that they have to feel conveniently as subjects and flock of the Byzantine administration and Church. The distortion of the Slavonic liturgy question seeks to legitimize the sound of Byzantine psalmody in Bulgarian churches as if thus things were at St. Clement's time and books have never been used by Bulgarian priests. Driving at the glorification of Byzantine Church merits for the conversion and civilization of Bulgarian people Theophylact did not hesitate to use humiliating epithets addressed to the ancestors of his flock. He couldn't swallow the insults offered to him sometimes by the population of a country for which he cherished no good feelings, despite his debt forced him to take care for its spiritual efflorescence.

Another field where the ill concealed suggestions of the Ohrid archbishop are detected is the question of relationship between the secular and ecclesiastical authority. There are many passages where the conception that the kings and princes in the previous period behaved towards the prelates like children towards their parents. That kind of idyllic picture is revealed to us in the cases of relationship between St. Methodius and Rostislav, St. Methodius and Cotzel and between St. Methodius and Boris<sup>42</sup>. It is to be repeated later between Boris and St. Clement, as well as between St. Clement and tsar Simeon<sup>43</sup>. On the other hand, Theophylact portrayed the image of the legitimate prelate who respected implicitly the will of the Christ-loving ruler. I have in mind prolonged scene of the so-called "resignation" of St. Clement from the bishopric, which he urged on tsar Simeon<sup>44</sup> (and which is in my opinion a creation of the author's fantasy). Theophylact's letters are full of the same kind of servility and homage in the cases when he seeks to gain the emperors benevolence he lost. The scenes described above catared that interest of his, so they fitted in St. Clement's Life. In that way the Ohrid prelate was stabilizing simultaneously his position in his continuous struggle to retain the economical interests of the Ohrid archbishopric. From the letters of the archbishop we learned that different government and ecclesiastical officials have made numerous attempts to violate those interests. By the St. Clement's Life he wrote, Theophylact proved the antiquity and the autonomous rights and privileges of his chair, generously endowed by kings and princes in the time of its famous pastor (=St. Clement), ancestor

<sup>42</sup> Cf.: Chapter IV, paragraphs 15–16.

<sup>43</sup> Chapter XVI, paragraphs 47–52; Chapter XVII, paragraphs 53–54; Chapter XVIII, paragraph 55; Chapter XIX, paragraph 60 and Chapter XX, paragraphs 61–62.

<sup>44</sup> Chapter XXV, paragraphs 71–72.

of whom he (=Theophylact) pretended to be. By the way, in this respect another falsification that served also to stabilize the authority of the Ohrid throne was made. The allegation that the chair of Ohrid is the heir of the episcopal chair of Justinianus Prima<sup>45</sup>, created already in the time of emperor Iustinianus (527–565), emerged. That innovation in the title of the Ohrid archbishops is evidenced for the first time just in the beginning of the XII century and if we trust to the manuscript tradition in transmitting the superscription of St. Clement's Life, then Theophylact may be the first Ohrid prelate to accept that title.

His independence from the Constantinopolitan patriarchate Theophylact defended tenaciously by literary means, too. That is obvious from many passages of St. Clement of Ohrid biography created by him. Nowhere in the writing there is any relationship mentioned between St. Clement as bishop and the representatives of the high Byzantine clergy – neither with those who occupied leading posts in the Bulgarian Church, nor with those who served in the staff of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. Even his episcopal appointment St. Clement received, according to the biographer, not from the head of the Bulgarian Church, but by the personal order of prince Simeon<sup>46</sup>. In the same way, however, Theophylact himself was sent as bishop to Ohrid by the order of the Byzantine emperor and not through the proper ecclesiastical channels – by the patriarch of Constantinople.

For the same reasons Theophylact of Bulgaria did not narrate about the Moravian mission of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, which was inspired by the head of the Byzantine Church, the patriarch Photius (858–867 and for the second time – 877–886). Thus the initiative for the conversion of the Bulgarian people and the translation of the Holy Scripture for the purposes of the enlightening work in Bulgaria is presented as due to the personal eagerness of the two brother-saints, evoked by their apostolic aspirations: "Because the Slavonic, i. e. the Bulgarian people did not understand the Scriptures written in Greek, the saints (=Cyril and Methodius) consider it to be a great loss and that it was a reason for their inconsolable grief, for the candelabrum of the Scriptures is not set in the dark country (2 Petr. 1, 19) of the Bulgarians. They were sad, they suffered and deny living."<sup>47</sup>

We have to pay special attention to Theophylact's doctrine on the question of "procession of Holy Ghost", expressed through the speeches of Clement and Gorazd during the dogmatical dispute with the Frankish clergy in Moravia. As it was underlined above, the controversy is carried on exactly in the spirit and with the arguments of the XI century, but not from the position of patriarch Photius in the IX century. Theophylact, who have written the mentioned treatise "What are the *Latins* accused of", blames in St. Clement's Life only the Frankish clergy for the same aberrations from the canons of Christian teaching. To the popes in Rome, whose inconstans attitude to the Cyrillo-Pannonia, not a single reproche is addressed. What is more, the attitude to pope Hadrian II is more than positive. He is compared to the disciples of Christ, the apostles. As apostle Paul have presented the principles of his preaching to them (=the other apostles), so and Slavonic prime-teachers seeked a confirmation by the pope in Rome of the correctness of their translation of the Scriptures in Slavonic<sup>48</sup>. All those gestures of friendship to Rome are not astonishing if we take into consideration the time when St. Clement's Life was written. After the Constantinopolitan synod in the autumn of 1089 mentioned above, the official attitude of Byzantium to Rome was positive with a view to the supposed rapprochement of the two Churches, planned for the spring of 1091. All

<sup>45</sup> Prinzing, G. Entstehung und Rezeption der Justiniana-Prima-Theorie im Mittelalter. – BBg, V. 1987, S. 269–287.

<sup>46</sup> Chapter XX, paragraph 62.

<sup>47</sup> Chapter II, paragraph 5.

<sup>48</sup> Chapter III, paragraph 8.

that reflected in the mode of Theophylact's exposé, where he expressed his disagreement with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, transferring the blame on the Frankish clergy.

I'll dwell on some mistakes and inaccuracies admitted by the Ohrid archbishop in his writing. They may be defined rather as a product of the author's lack of information on questions long ago not actual and on events remoted back in time. That applies first of all to the confused geographical data from the mid-Danube lands, where St. Cyril and St. Methodius together with their pupils worked. Theophylact obviously did not know well enough the Bulgarian history of the second half of the IX and the beginning of the X century, too. According to him, prince Boris I passed away at the time when St. Clement completed his seventh year of teaching in Bulgaria, i.e. in 893 and after that his son Vladimir-Rasate occupied the throne<sup>49</sup>. In that case the entrance of Boris into monastery and the yelding of the throne to his son is obviously confused with the death of the ruler, which took place as we know in 907<sup>50</sup>. Further in the Life it's claimed that Vladimir passed away and the government moved to the hands of his brother Simeon. It may be supposed that Theophylact didn't know about the events round the abdication of Rasate<sup>51</sup>, but it's more probable that he passed them over in silence not to blemish the idealized image of prince Boris. By those considerations may also be explained the fact that, according to the biographer, Boris passed away and after that his son Vladimir-Rasate assumed power. In that way the ideal image of the Christ-loving prince remains undefiled by the events attendant the dramatic dethronement of his own son and heir to the throne.

A little different stands the question with the two passages of the text where the author speaks in first person plural and thus incorporates himself to the Bulgarian people, pretending to be a direct disciple of St. Clement's at that. The first passage is as follows: "In general Clement delivered to us, the Bulgarians, everything concerning the Church..."<sup>52</sup>

Different speculations have been made for interpreting that disputable expression<sup>53</sup>. We have to reject the extreme opinion that the expression in question points that the Life belongs to an unknown Bulgarian author. It's also unacceptable to suppose that such a writer like Theophylact may admit by inadvertence that regrettable mistake. There are at least two very similar explanations which don't need to be compared and a preference to be given to one of them for the present, on the condition that we are not allowed to do that by the manuscript tradition.

The first of them underlines the real possibility that Theophylact maybe incorporated himself through the expression in question to his flock and in that way sought once more footing for his claims in the glorious past of his chair. The using of that kind of literary device in a writing of the renown with his rhetorical education prelate of Ohrid is not astonishing. The other supposition, which I submit after reading the original repeatedly, is as follows. Studying the whole passage which reviewed the literary heritage of St. Clement, preserved at the time of Theophylact in Ohrid, we may suppose that the final expression at issue can be a later interpolation. If we remove it, the passage won't lose nothing neither in information, nor in structure, morphology or syntax. We may wonder at what time that interpolation, which taken alone is nothing but a generalization of what is related in the preceding passage of the text, was made? If we glance through

<sup>49</sup> Chapter XIX, paragraph 60.

<sup>50</sup> In an addition to the ancient Bulgarian translation of the speeches of St. Athanasius of Alexandria there is preserved the exact date of Boris' death – the 2nd of May, 907. Cf.: Vailant, A. Discours contre les ariens..., 6–7.

<sup>51</sup> For details on those events cf. the book of Gjuzlev, V. Княз Борис Първи, 459–469.

<sup>52</sup> Chapter XVIII, paragraph 58.

<sup>53</sup> For a review of the earlier opinions cf. the introduction of Milev, A. Гърцките жития..., 37–71. Cf. also: Obolenksy, D. Theophylactos of Ohrid, 611–612.

the manuscript tradition we'll see that this passage of the Life is preserved only in the three full-text copies that originate from a common photograph. It goes to show that the eventual interpolation has been made before the XIV century, when it's already testified in the Ohrid copy. The following different explanation can't be denied too. According to it some of the copyists-Bulgarians have interpolated not the whole phrase, but the word "to us", that seemed to him necessary for the achievement of a better clarity of expression.

The second passage at issue reads as follows: "What about us, the humble and unworthy, he has made us closer to him because of his kind heart and we were always with him, following him in everything he was doing, talking and teaching through both of them..."<sup>54</sup> and so on the narration goes to the end of the paragraph in first person plural and in the tense used by an eyewitness of certain events. Once more, on account of the considerations mentioned above, we can't accept that it was a mistake of Theophylact's. Most probably the copyists in a later time (once more the first mentioning is in the Ohrid copy, dated in the XIV century) have omitted to point that the whole passage was a quotation of a lost writing, or presented the words of immediate disciples of St. Clement's.

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The Long St. Clement's Life is one of the well-known writings of Christian Literature in the Middle Ages. Being a work of a famous Church official, a professor in rhetorics in the capital of Byzantium and a gifted writer, the writing is distinguished for its high style and luxuriant language. As it was required by the canon of Metaphrastes from the X century<sup>55</sup>, the Lifes of saints have to be not only instructive, but works of art too; to suit the taste of the highly educated reader and listener. That basic rule was precisely observed by the author of St. Clement's Life. His language is vivid and figurative, checkered with epithets and similes. Great accumulations of synonyms, gradations and rhetorical questions are used often. The author plays skilfully on the metaphorical and concrete meanings of words, weaves them in *figurae ethymologicae* and other kind of figures and *tropoi* of speech. In his language words from Homer's times are to be found, arranged in charmony and bounded up with those contemporary to his own times. A great connoisseur of Christian literature, Theophylact used dozens of freely cited quotations from the Holy Scriptures and despite their abundance they do not stand isolated from the narration. A brilliant orator and rhetor, Theophylact constructed his writing as a lecture in the presence of listeners who can't stay indifferent to his skill of suggestion not only by meance of facts, but through the art of portraiture.

If we try to find the audience of that writing in the time it was created, we have to turn our gaze on those strata of society that were distinguishing for their higher degree of education and intelligence. Written in Greek the Life was intelligible for a small part of the Bulgarians and did not have a great influence on the people's memory of the notorious Bulgarian prime-teacher. Thus Theophylact's writing remained in the framework of the literature destined for the class dominating over society.

In addition to its qualities of a good writing of the Byzantine hagiography the St. Clement's Life, written by Theophylact, is important for us as a historical source of the Early Bulgarian Middle Ages – IX–X centuries. A great part of the information about our prime-teacher we owe to that literary monument. Here we find significant evidence about the Cyril-Methodian activities: the acknowledgement by pope Hadrian II in Rome; the struggle against the Frankish clergy in Moravia; the transfer and preservation of Cyril-Methodian heritage in Bulgaria under prince Boris and tsar Simeon. Some

<sup>54</sup> Chapter XXII, paragraph 66.

<sup>55</sup> Beck, H.-G. Kirche und theologische Literatur..., 570–575.

information about the infrastructure of the Bulgarian state in that time, though isolated, can be found in the Life. The ethnical and state boundaries of Bulgaria are traced out too: south-westwards – to the area of Ohrid, Devol and Glavinitsa; north-westwards – to Belgrad and the mid-Danube lands. The Life represents a narrative about the initiation of some of the first Bulgarian literary and educational centers like Devol and Ohrid. Theophylact has left for us a peculiar catalogue of St. Clement's writings existing in the XI–XII centuries<sup>56</sup>, which helps today in attributing the new-found writings of Bulgarian writers from the time of the Golden Age of Mediaeval Bulgaria. Finally the information in St. Clement's Life supplements and clarifies the facts preserved in other domestic and foreign sources related to the same epoch. Taking into consideration the comparatively scarce amount of sources we use to reconstruct Bulgarian history of that remoted period, we have to render Theophylact's writing a well-deserved evaluation as one of the first-hand sources of our history in the IX–X centuries. On that condition if we have to "admonish" the author for his here and there high-handed using of the earlier sources and tendentious narration, we should take into consideration the "extenuating circumstances" – the merits of the Ohrid archbishop for the preservation of that Bulgarian historical heritage, which would be irreparably lost today if St. Clement's Long Life should not be brought to light.

#### 4. The principles of the new edition

The new edition of St. Clement's Life is based on all manuscripts, incunabula and modern scientifical editions of the text. This was possible with the help from different institutions and colleagues in our country and abroad. I take the opportunity to express my thanks to the Bulgarian Research Institute in Vienna; to the Central Board of Bulgarian Archives. Cultural and Historical Heritage Department; to the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, D C; to Prof. John Philip Thomas. The Citadel, Charleston, S C and to Prof. Dimitris Gonis. University of Athens, Theological Department. I owe to my colleague Constantinos Nichoritis the microfilms of the Batopediou and the three Atonite fragmentary manuscripts, as well as his collaboration in comparing of some of the copies and in the preparation of the theological commentary.

The full-text and the fragmentary copies of the Life are full of orthographic errors, omissions and transpositions of words. That is much more valid in the case with the later manuscripts. In order not be aggravated superfluously, the apparatus criticus contains only the significant readings and the major omitted passages, suspected if they ever were part of the original text. The punctuation is a present-day interference in the text. The apparatus criticus excludes also the frequent in some manuscripts glossae and marginal notes of later origin, that have no relation to the amendment of the text. The lines are numbered from one ad infinitum in order to facilitate the using of the apparatus criticus.

The text in the manuscripts is not divided into chapters and paragraphs. The initial division into 29 chapters (designated by Roman numerals in our edition) has been made by Franz Miklosich. Nicolaj Tunickij preserved the initial division adding his own – into 80 paragraphs (designated by Arab numerals in the present edition). There are some significant deficiencies in both divisions, but they are already a tradition due to the using for many years the two editions of St. Clement's Life mentioned above by the scholars. The Bulgarian editor of the text Alexander Milev preserved the double division and henceforth it became a tradition for our modern scientifical publications too. That's why the familiar division of the text in chapters and paragraphs is preserved in the new edition too.

<sup>56</sup> Chapter XXII, paragraph 66. On St. Clement's literary heritage cf. also: Станчев, Кр., Г. Попов, Климент Охридски, 52–219.

The numerous quotations of the Bible are mentioned off in the apparatus criticus using the routine abbreviations of the Old and New Testament writings respectively. This was made so because I suppose that the dividing of the apparatus criticus into readings and Bibel quotations would evoke more difficulties in using it. Only these Biblical quotations, the clarification of which is related to the correct understanding of the text, are additionally explained in the commentary. The citing of modern authors and their writings is made through abbreviations and the full bibliographical notes can be found at the end in alphabetical order, divided in two parts – sources and studies.

In the apparatus criticus are used the following abbreviations:

A	Cod. Athenensis – Boule No 83
B	Cod. Batopediensis No 1143
D <sup>1</sup>	Cod. Dionysiensis No 280
D <sup>2</sup>	Cod. Dionysiensis No 274
I	Cod. Ivironensis No 382
O	Cod. Ohridensis – Moskvensis No 113
R	Cod. Romanus Angelicus No 43
U	Cod. Urbanensis No 2
V	Cod. Vaticanus graecus No 1409
M	Editio Moschopolitana
Mk.	Editio Fr. Miklosich (Vita s. Clementis... Vindobonae 1847)
G	Editio P. Gautier (Deux œuvres... 47–107)

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία, δημολογία τε καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος ἐπισκόπου Βουλγάρων, συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ ἀοιδίμου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς καὶ πάσης Βουλγαρίας, κυροῦ Θεοφυλάκτου, χρηματίσαντος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μαΐστορος τῶν ῥητόρων

- I. 1. Δεῦτε, τέκνα, ἀκούσατέ μου, δεῦτε καὶ διηγήσομαι ὑμῖν, πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν, ὅπως ἀν γνῷ γενεὰ ἔτερα, νίοι τεχθησόμενοι, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὁ κτιζόμενος αἰνέστη τὸν Κύριον. Ταῦτα Δαυὶδ μὲν εἴρηκε καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ σήμερον· δεῦτο γάρ 5 τὴν θείαν μεγαλωσύνην ἐκδηγεῖσθαι πάντοτε καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντας οὐ ταύτη μόνον ὅτι τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ αἰνέσεως οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμός, ὡς πιστεύομεν, – ὅσα γάρ ἀν ἐπαγγείλωμεν ἡ λαλήσωμεν, ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν ἐπληθύνθησαν τὰ λειπόμενα – ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ῥαθυμοτέροις πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ ἐργασίαν ἀπονυστάζουσιν διυπνισμός τις γίνεται ἡ 10 τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ θαυμασίων ιπρυττομένη μεγαλοπρέπεια.
2. Οὕνονται γάρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροὺς μὴ ἀντί τῶν ἀρχαίον χωρῆσαι ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν προτέρους χρόνους καὶ θαύμασι λαμπρυνθῆναι καὶ βίοις ἀνδρῶν κοσμηθῆναι ἀσωμάτως σχεδὸν ζησάντων ἐν σώματι, τῇ δὲ ἡμετέρᾳ γενεᾷ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον δωρηθῆναι παρὰ Θεοῦ.
- 15 3. Ὁδεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν σπουδαῖον βίον, ὡς τῆς νῦν φύσεως μὴ δεχομένης τοῦτον, ἐλεεινῶς ἀπενάρκησαν· κακῶς γε εἰδότες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ λίον ἐπισφαλῶς, ὃ τε γάρ τῆς φύσεως λόγος αὐτός ἔστι καὶ οὐκ ἡλοίωται καὶ κατέλιπεν ἔαυτῷ Κύριος κὰν τοῖς ἡμετέροις χρόνοις ἄνδρας μάλα πολλούς, οἵ γόνι τῶν κάτω συρομένων οὐδὲνί κάμψαντες εἰς 20 δόξαν τοῦ οὐρανίου πατρὸς τῷ τοῦ βίου φωτὶ διέλαμψαν, φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ γεγονότες, λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες.
3. Ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ τὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων χώραν ἐφώτισαν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τὸντοις καιροῖς πατέρες μακάριοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι, λάμψαντες διδάγμαστι τε καὶ θαύμασι καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ καταστάντες παρὰ 25 Θεοῦ ἀμφιδέξιοι διὰ τὸν πάντα μὲν βίον παραδιδόναι γραφῇ αὐχῆς ἔργον ἐμοί, πλὴν ἀλλὰ κρείττον τῆς τοῦ λόγου δυνάμεως, ὀλίγα δέ τινα παραδέμενος τοῦ τε Θεοῦ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν χάριν τεκμηριώσομαι μενδ' ἡμῶν ὄντος καὶ ἐσόμενου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας, ὡς ἡ ὑπόσχεσις, καὶ δειξώ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις 30 ὡς οὐχ ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν ἡλλοίωται, ἀλλὰ διέστραπται ἡ προσάρεσις.
- II. 4. Τίνες οὖν οἱ πατέρες οὗτοι τάχα ζητεῖτε μαθεῖν. Μεθόδιος, δις τὴν Πανόνων ἐπαρχίαν ἐκόσμησεν, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μοράβου γενόμενος, καὶ Κύριλλος ὁ πολὺς μὲν τὴν ἔξω φιλοσοφίαν, πλείων

*Titulum: 1 πολιτεία/καὶ add. Ο 7 ῥήτορων/εὐλόγησον πάτερ add.B*

1 Cf. Psalm. 33,12 1–2 Cf. Psalm. 65,16 2–3 Cf. Psalm. 77,6 3 Cf. Psalm. 101,19; Cf. Psalm. 146,5 7–8 Cf. Psalm. 39,6 9 ἡ om. Ο 18–19 Cf. 3 Reg. 19,18 et Rom. 11,4 20–21 Cf. Phil. 2,15–16 28–29 Cf. Matth. 28,20 33–34 πλείων corr. Mk.: πλείω codd.

δὲ τὴν ἔσω, καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄντων ὄντως φύσεως ἐπιγνώμων, μᾶλλον  
35 τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντως, ὡς τὰ πάντα ἐκ μὴ φαινομένων τὸ εἶναι ἔλαβον. Οὗτοι  
γάρ δὴ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου καθαρότητα Θεὸν λαβόντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς  
καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον συλλαβεῖν ἐν γαστρὶ τὸ σωτεριῶδες πνεῦμα  
ἀποτεκεῖν σπεύδοντες εἶχον μὲν ἱκανῶς λόγου διδασκαλικοῦ, ἐλλάδι  
γλώττη προσφερομένου, καὶ πολλοὺς εἶλκεν ἡ τῆς τοιαύτης σοφίας  
40 ἄλυσις.

5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τῶν Συλοβενῶν γένος εἴτον Βουλγάρων ἀσυνέτως  
εἶχον τῶν ἐν ἐλλάδι γλώττῃ συντεθειμένων Γραφῶν, ζημίαν  
ἡγοῦντο τοῦτο μεγίστην οἱ ἄγιοι καὶ τὸ μὴ τὸν λύχνον τῶν Γραφῶν  
ἐπανάπτεσθαι τῷ τῶν Βουλγάρων αὐχμερῷ τόπῳ ἀπαρακλήτου λύπης ἐποιοῦντο  
45 ὑπόθεσιν, ἥλγουν, ἐδυσφόρουν, ἀπελέγοντο τὴν ζωήν.

6. Τί γοῦν ποιοῦσι; Πρὸς τὸν Παράκλητον ἀποβλέπουσιν, οὓς  
πρῶτον δῶρον αἱ γλῶσσαι, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Λόγου βοηθείᾳ καὶ παρὰ τούτου  
τὴν χάριν ταύτην αἰτοῦνται γράμματα τε ἔξευρέσθαι δασύτητι  
Βουλγάρων γλώττης κατάλληλα καὶ δυνηθῆναι τὰς θείας Γραφὰς  
50 πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ἔθνους μεταγαγεῖν. Ἀμέλει καὶ νεστείᾳ  
εὐτόνων καὶ προσευχῇ ἐπιμόνῳ, κακώσει τε ψυχῆς καὶ συντριβῇ καὶ ταπεινώσει  
ἐκδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδόντες τοῦ πονημένου τυγχάνουσιν. Ἐγγὺς  
γάρ, φησί, Κύριος πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλούμενοις αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ,  
καὶ ἔτι· λαλοῦντός σου, ἐρεῖ ἴδου πάρειμι, θεὸς γάρ ἐγγίζων  
55 ἐγώ εἰμι καὶ οὐ θεὸς πόρρωθεν.

7. Εὐρίσκουσιν οὖν καὶ οὗτοι τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριν  
ώς ὅρθρον ἔτοιμον καὶ φῶς ἀνέτειλε τοῖς δικαίοις γνώσεως καὶ  
ἡ σύζυγος αὐτῶν εὑφροσύνη τὴν προτέραν λύπην αὐτῶν ἀπήλασε.  
Τυχόντες οὖν τοῦ εὐκταίου τούτου χαρίσματος, ἔξευρίσκουσι μὲν  
60 τὰ σύλοβενικὰ γράμματα, ἐρμηνεύουσι δὲ τὰς θεοπνεύστους Γραφὰς  
ἐκ τῆς ἐλλάδος γλώττης εἰς τὴν βουλγαρικήν, ποιοῦνται δὲ  
σπουδὴν τοῖς ὁξυτέροις τῶν μαθητῶν παραδοῦναι τὰ θεῖα μαθήματα.  
οὐκ ὀλίγοι γάρ τῆς διδασκαλικῆς ταύτης πηγῆς ἔπινον, ὃν  
ἐκπρόκριτοι τε καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ κορυφαῖοι Γοράσδος τε καὶ Κλήμης  
65 καὶ Ναούμ καὶ Ἀγγελάριος καὶ Σάβας.

III. 8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Παῦλον ἐγίνωσκον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον  
κοινωσάμενον, τρέχουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην τῷ  
μακαριωτάτῳ πάπᾳ τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἐρμηνείας τῶν Γραφῶν ἐμφανίσοντες,  
εἰς κατηνθύνθη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον.

70 9. Ο δὲ τηνικαῦτα τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς ἐμπρέπων ψρόνοις  
Ἄδριανὸς τὴν τούτων ἀκούσας ἔλευσιν ἔχάρη μὲν χαρὰν μεγάλην  
σφόδρα· ἐκ μακροῦ γάρ τῇ βροντῇ περὶ τῶν ἀγίων φήμις καταπληττόμενος  
ἐπόθει καὶ τὴν ἀστραπὴν ἰδεῖν τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς χάριτος,  
ἐκεῖνο πάσχων πρὸς τοὺς θείους ἄνδρας ὁ Μωσῆς πρὸς Θεόν,  
75 καὶ ὅψιν αὐτῷ ἐμφανισθῆναι τὴν πονημένην καὶ γνωστῶς ἰδεῖν  
ἔφιέμενος. Οὐκέτι δὲ κατέχειν οἵσις τε ἡν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ιερατικὸν  
ἄπαν σὺν τῷ παρευρεθέντι ἀρχιερατικῷ προσλαβόμενος,  
ἔξηλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀγίων συνάντησιν, τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ τε σημεῖον

35 Cf. Hebr. 11,3 37–38 Cf. Isa. 26,18 43–44 Cf. 2 Petr. 1,19 45 ἥλγουν : ἥλυον O; Cf. Ion. 4,8  
46–47 Cf. Acta ap. 2,4 51 ἐπιμόνῳ/καὶ add. O 52–53 Cf. Psalm. 144,18 54 Cf. Isa. 58,9 54–55  
Cf. Ierem. 23,23 55 θεὸς γάρ ...πόρρωθεν om. BU 57 Cf. Hos. 6,3; Cf. Psalm. 96,11 et 111,4 62  
σπουδὴν : σπουδῇ O 64 ἐκπρόκριτοι corr. G. : ἐκκριτοὶ O : ἐνπρόκριτοι BU 66–67 Cf. Gal.  
2,2 69 Cf. Gal. 2,2 74–75 Cf. Exod. 33,23 et 13

προπορευόμενον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός ἔχων καὶ τῷ τῶν λαμπάδων  
φωτὶ τὴν τῆς χαρᾶς ἐπισημαίνων φαιδρότητα, ἔστι δὲ εἰπεῖν  
80 ὅτι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπιξενούμενων λαμπρότητα· οὐδὲ δοξάζων  
ό τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐνδοξαζόμενος Κύριος θαύματα πολλὰ τελεσθῆναι  
παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν τῆς εἰσόδου καιρὸν εύδόκησεν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ  
τὸ ἔργον ἐμφανισθεί τῷ πάπᾳ καὶ τὴν τῶν Γραφῶν ἐν γλώττῃ

85 μετάθεσιν κατασκέψαιτο, ἀποστολικῆς ὄντως ψυχῆς καὶ χάριτος  
πνευματικῆς οὖσαν γέννημα, οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ χρήσαιτο τῇ χαρᾷ· ἐμακάριζε  
τὸν ἄνδρας παντοίοις ὄντοις ἀνεκάλει, πατέρας,  
ἐπιπόθητα τέκνα, χαρὰν οἰκείαν, στέφανον πίστεως, δόξης καὶ  
κάλλους, ἐκκλησίας διάδημα. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τί ποιεῖ; Τότε ἐρμηνευθείσας

90 βίβλους λαβὼν τῷ θείῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσῆγαγεν, οἶνον  
τι ἀνάθημα ταύτας καθιερῶν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ δεικνὺς ὡς τοιαύταις  
θυσίαις, καρπῷ χειλέων, εὐαρεστεῖται Θεὸς καὶ εἰς ὄσμήν εὐωδίας  
τὰς τοιουτοτρόπους καρπώσεις δέχεται, – τί γάρ τῷ Λόγῳ  
λόγου τοὺς λογικοὺς ἀλογίας λυτρουμένου τερπνότερον, εἴπερ τῷ  
95 ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὄμοιον ἡδεῖται; – ἀποστολικούς τε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας  
ἐκήρυξεν ὡς Παύλῳ τὸν ἵσον ὑποδύναντας ἀγῶνα καὶ  
τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφορὰν τελείαν καὶ ἀγίαν τῷ Θεῷ προσενεγκεῖν  
σπείσαντας.

10. Εἶτα, τῶν ἐπομένων τοῖς ἀγίοις ὅσοι καὶ σύλοβενικῶν  
100 γραμμάτων ἱκανὴν πεῖραν ἔχειν καὶ βίῳ σεμνῷ κεκοσμῆσθαι παρὰ  
τῶν διδασκάλων ἐμαρτυροῦντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, τοὺς  
δὲ τῶν διακόνων, ἔστι δὲ οὖς καὶ ὑποδιακόνων βαθμοῦ ἡξίωσεν.  
αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν μέγαν Μενδόδιον καίτοι πολλὰ δραπετεύοντα καὶ ἀναδυόμενον,  
ἐπίσκοπον Μοράβου τῆς Πανονίας χειροτονεῖ, οὐχ δύσιον

105 εἶναι κρίνας ἀμοιρεῖν τὸν ὄντος τὸν ἀξιωθέντα τοῦ πράγματος.  
Ἴσον γάρ πλημμελεῖσθαι ὅταν τε τοῦ ὄντος τις τύχοι πάμπολυ  
διωκισμένος τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ὅταν ἐπίσκοπός τις ὃν τοῖς ἔργοις  
καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι εἶτα παρορῶτο τῇ τάξει τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὑποκρύπτεσθαι,  
καὶ λύχνος ὃν ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην τῆς ἀφανείας τίθοιτο. Ἄλλα

110 Μενδόδιον μὲν οὕτως ὁ Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεὺς τῷ ἐπισκοπικῷ τιμῆ  
ἀξιώματι, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν δι' αὐτοῦ.

11. Κύριλλον δὲ τὸν ὄντως φιλόσοφον ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς  
εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀγίων προσκαλεῖται ἀγια, ἐκεῖ λειτουργήσοντα  
ἐνδον τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων μεταληψόμενον

115 πνευματικώτερον καὶ θειότερον καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τοῦ καινοῦ  
κοινωνήσοντα. Ὡσπερ γάρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παραμεῖναι τῇ σαρκὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ἐαυθεῖς ἵνα τὴν τε τῶν γραμμάτων εὔρεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Γραφῶν  
μετάθεσιν πραγματεύσται, μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα διακονῆσαι τῷ θείῳ  
βουλήματι, παρὰ τοῦ διδάξαντος αὐτὸν τὴν γνῶσιν Θεοῦ προσλαμβάνεται.

120 Προγονοὺς δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτήν, τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν  
σχῆμα ἐπαμφιεύννυται καὶ πάλαι μὲν τοῦτο ποθῶν, διὰ δὲ μετριοφροσύνην  
ώς μέγα τι καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ισχὺν ὑπερβαῖνον ἀναδυόμενος.

82 Cf. I Reg. 2,30 et 2 Thess. 1,10 85 καὶ om. O 88–89 Cf. Sap. 5,16 et Phil. 4,1 91–92 Cf.  
Hebr 13,15–16 92–93 Cf. Ephes. 5,2 et Phil. 4,18 94–95 Cf. Sap. Sir. 13,19 96 Cf. 2 Tim. 4,7 97  
Cf. Rom. 15,16 104 χειροτονεῖ : χειροθετεῖ O 108 ἀξιώματι M : ἀξίω O : ἀξιώματα BU 109  
τίθοιτο : τίθεται O; Cf. Luc. 8,16 110 οὕτως : οὖς τοῖς U 112–113 Cf. Hebr. 4,14 113 Cf. Hebr.  
9,3 114 Cf. Hebr. 8,2 116 κοινωνήσοντα M : κοινωνήσονται OBU 119 αὐτὸν corr. Mk.:  
αὐτῶν OBU; Cf. Psalm. 93,10

Δέκα δὲ ήμερας ἐν τούτῳ διαγενόμενος καὶ φωτὶ φῶς  
προσλαβὼν εἰς οὐρανοὺς μετέστη, οὗ δὲ Χριστός, τὴν τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος  
125 κοιλάδα, τὰ τοῦ σκοτασμοῦ σκηνώματα, τὸν πηλὸν τῆς  
ιλύος, τὴν ἐνταῦθα παροικίαν καταλιπών, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα μὲν τῷ Θεῷ τῶν  
πνευμάτων παρέθηκε, σῶμα δὲ ἔκεινο τὸ πρὸ τῆς φυσικῆς νεκρώσεως  
τῆς προαιρετικῆς ἀπολαῦσαν ὑμνοῖς ὑπό τε τοῦ θείου πάπα  
καὶ τοῦ κλήρου παντὸς φιλοτιμηθὲν ἐγκατετέθη τῷ ναῷ Κλήμεντος,  
130 Κλήμεντος ἔκεινο τοῦ τῷ κορυφαίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρῳ  
πεφοιτηκότος καὶ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σοφίᾳ τὴν ἐλληνικὴν οἰα δεσποίνη  
δούλην καθυποτάξαντος. Καὶ δέχεται τὸν φιλόσοφον ὁ φιλόσοφος,  
οἱ μεγάλων διδάσκαλος τὴν τοῦ Λόγου φωνὴν προσλαμβάνεται  
οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν καθηγητῆς τὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσι φωτίσαντα τὸ φῶς τῆς  
135 γνώσεως εἰσοικίζεται.

12. Ἐπισημαίνει δὲ καὶ Θεὸς προσμαρτυρῶν τῷ Κυρίλλῳ  
τὴν ἐκδεχομένην δόξαν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα τῶν μὴ φαινομένων  
ποιεῖται κήρυκας· δαιμονῶντές τε γάρ τῇ σορῷ προσελθόντες  
ιάσεις εὑροντο καὶ πολαῖς ἄλλαις νόσοις ἡ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος  
140 χάρις μάστιξ ἐλάτειρα γέγονεν· ὅμα τε γάρ τις ἢ τῇ σορῷ  
προσήπει ἢ τοῦνομα ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοῦ θεοφόρου τούτου πατρὸς καὶ  
τῆς τοῦ λυποῦντος ἀπαλλαγῆς μέτρον τὴν πίστιν εὔρισκεν· ὅθεν πολὺς  
ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στόμασιν ὁ Κύριλλος ἔκειτο καὶ πλείων ἐν ταῖς  
ψυχαῖς ὡς εἶναι τὰς μὲν θαυματουργίας τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξης ὑπόθεσιν, ταύτῃν  
145 δὲ τῆς περιττοτέρας τιμῆς ἐπίβασιν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀγίου τιμὴν  
τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξης βεβαίωσιν.

IV. 13. Ἀλλὰ Κυρίλλῳ μὲν οὕτως ἡ τελευτὴ τιμῆς καὶ παρὰ  
τοῦ δειοτάτου πάπα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τετίμηκεν· Μεθόδιος δὲ  
τὸν σύμπονον ἀποβαλὼν καὶ συνέμπορον, τὸν τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν σarkὶ<sup>124</sup>  
150 καὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ γνήσιον ἀδελφόν, λύπη μὲν τὴν καρδίαν ἐβάλλετο,  
πάσχων τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ συνηθείας ἀλώσιμος ἦν, παρεκαλεῖτο  
δὲ ἔτερωθεν οὐδὲν ἡττον εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλπίζων ἔχειν τὸν  
Κύριλλον, τοῦ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἔργου συλλήπτορα, ὅσῳ καὶ Θεῷ πλησιάζοντα  
ἔκτος σarkὸς ἀνυσματέραν ἔχειν τὴν παρρησίαν.

14. Ἐπειδὲ καιρὸς ἦν Μεθόδιῳ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Πανονίαν ὁδοῦ  
καὶ ἔδει λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς χόρας ταύτης ἐπισκοπὴν ἀπιδεῖν, περιχυθεὶς  
τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ θαμινὰ τὸ φίλον ὄνομα τὸν Κύριλλον  
ἀνακαλεσάμενος καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν μὲν ἐρημίαν ἀνακλαυσάμενος,  
155 τὴν δὲ τῶν πρεσβειῶν χεῖρα εἰς βοήθειαν ἐπικαλεσάμενος, ὁδοῦ σὺν  
καὶ ἔδει λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς χόρας ταύτης ἐπισκοπὴν ἀπιδεῖν, περιχυθεὶς  
τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ θαμινὰ τὸ φίλον ὄνομα τὸν Κύριλλον  
ἀνακαλεσάμενος καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν μὲν ἐρημίαν ἀνακλαυσάμενος,  
τὴν δὲ τῶν πρεσβειῶν χεῖρα εἰς βοήθειαν ἐπικαλεσάμενος, ὁδοῦ σὺν  
τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἴχετο. Ὡς δὲ τὸν Μόραβον καταλάβοι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο  
60 ἐπισκοπὸς ἦν, ὅσα παρὰ Παύλου χρώματα τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰκόνι  
ἐπεβλήθησαν ἐαυτῷ ἐνεπιδεικνύμενος καὶ πάντων προλάμπων τὸ διδασκαλικόν,  
οὐ γάρ κατορύζεις τὸ τάλαντον, οὐδὲ τὴν χάριν ἀποκλείσας  
τοῦ πνευματικοῦ δώρου τὴν ἀρχὴν τρυφῆς ἀρχὴν ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν  
65 ἐκοινοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀνατέλλων ἐπίσης τοῦ λόγου τὸν ἥλιον καὶ  
περὶ τὸ διδόναι μὴ ἐνδιδοὺς τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν σιτομέτριον. “Οὓς γάρ  
καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς οὕτως τῷ λόγῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας προσέκειτο  
124 Cf. Col. 3,1 124–125 Cf. Psalm. 82,7, 125,1.

καὶ ταῦτα μὴν ἐγκινδυνεύων τῷ πράγματι, πᾶς, ὅταν ἐπιστεύθη τὸ  
ἔργον καὶ τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἔλαβε καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ ἥδει τῷ ἀποστόλῳ μὴ εὔ-  
170 αγγελιζομένῳ ἀποκληρούμενον, οὐκ ἔμελλε τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀνθέξεσθαι  
τε καὶ περιέξεσθαι καὶ δλην τὴν ἡμέραν μελέτην ἔχει τὰ ψεῖα  
λόγια ὑπὲρ μέλι καὶ κήριον αὐτῷ ταττόμενα τὴν γλυκύτητα.

15. Ἀμέλει καὶ τῷ τότε ἄρχοντι Μοράβου Ῥασισθλάβῳ καθεκάστην  
οὐ διέλειπε παραιῶν καὶ ταῖς ψεῖαις ἐντολαῖς ρύθμίζων  
175 αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχήν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῆς Πανονίας συμπάσης κρατοῦντα,  
Κοτζέλης ὄνομα τοῦτο, παιδεύων ἦν καὶ νομοθετῶν τῷ φόβῳ Κυρίου  
καθηλώσθαι καὶ τούτῳ ἐκκλίνειν ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, οἵν τινι  
χαλινῷ ἀνακρουόμενον καὶ ἀναστελλόμενον. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν  
τῶν Βουλγάρων ἄρχοντα Βορίσην, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως  
180 Μιχαὴλ ἦν, καὶ τοῦτον ὁ μέγας Μεθόδιος καὶ πάλαι μὲν τέκνον  
ἐποιήσατο καὶ τῆς οἰκείας γλώττης τῆς τὰ πάντα καλῆς ἐξηρτήσατο  
καὶ τότε δὲ ταῖς τῶν λόγων εὐεργεσίαις ἀδιαλείπτως εἶχε  
δωρούμενος.

16. Ἡν γάρ ὁ Βορίσης οὗτος καὶ ἄλλως γνώμης δεξιᾶς καὶ  
185 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δεκτικῆς, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἔθνος τοῦ θείου  
τε καταξιοῦσθαι βαπτίσματος καὶ χριστιανίζειν ἤρξατο. Ὁτε δὴ  
καὶ οἱ ἄγιοι, Κύριλλός φημι καὶ Μεθόδιος, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν  
πιστευόντων ἴδοντες καὶ ὡς πολλὰ μὲν γεννῶνται τέκνα Θεοῦ δι' ὕδατος  
τε καὶ Πνεύματος καὶ τροφῆς δὲ πάντως πνευματικῆς δέονται,  
190 γράμματά τε ἔξενύραντο, καθ' ἀπροειρήκαμεν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Γραφῶν  
ἐπὶ τὸ βουλγαρικὸν μετάθεσιν ἐποιήσαντο, ἵνα τὰ γεννηθέντα τέκνα  
τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ψείας τροφῆς ἱκανῶς ἔχοιεν καὶ εἰς αὔξην πνευματικὴν  
καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνατρέχοιεν, καὶ οὕτω  
195 τῆς σκυθικῆς πλάνης τὸ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἔθνος ἀπαλλαγὴν τὴν ἀληθινὴν  
καὶ ἀπλανεστάτης ὁδὸν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπέγνωσαν, ὡψὲ μὲν καὶ περὶ  
τὴν ἐνδεκάτην ἡ δοδεκάτην, τὸν θεῖον δ' οὗν ἀμπελῶνα εἰσεληλυθός  
τῇ τοῦ καλέσαντος χάριτι· ἐν ἔτει γάρ ἔξακισχιλιοστῷ τριακοσιοστῷ  
έβδομηκοστῷ ἔβδομφ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἡ τούτου τοῦ  
γένους κλῆσις γεγένηται.

200 V. 17. Οὐκ ἔλληγεν οὖν ὁ μέγας Μεθόδιος πᾶσαν νουθεσίαν τοῖς  
ἄρχουσι προσάγων ἑκάστοτε καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς βίον σεμνὸν ὄδηγῶν,  
τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγμα παρατιθεῖς οἵν τι νόμισμα βασιλικὸν  
καὶ ἀκίβδηλον καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν ἐνσφραγίζων ἀνεπιβούλευτόν  
τε καὶ ἀσυλον. Ἡσαν γάρ, Ἡσαν οἵ τοῦτο καὶ τότε παραχαράττοντες  
205 καὶ μετακινοῦντες ὄρια, ἀ οἱ πατέρες ήμῶν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔθεντον καὶ τῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Σπραγγῶν εἰσαγομένῃ  
παραφθορᾷ πολλοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐβλάπιτοντο, οἱ τὸν μὲν Υἱὸν γεννηθῆναι  
ἐκ Πατρός, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι διετείνοντο,  
οἵς ὁ ἄγιος ἀντιστάμενος τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Col. 3,1 <sup>124-125</sup> Cf. Psalm. 83,7 <sup>125-126</sup> Cf. Psalm. 39,3 <sup>129</sup> φιλοτιμηθὲν M : φιλοτιμηθεὶς OBU 130 ἔκεινου : ἔκεινῳ O <sup>151</sup> συνήθειας M : συνήθωσ O : συνήθισ OBU 152 ἐλπίζων ἔχειν M : ἐλπίζειν ἔχων OBU 153-154 πλησιάζοντα corr. Mk. : πλησιάζων OBU 154 ἔχειν corr. Mk. : ἔχων OBU 161 Cf. I Tim. 3,2-7 <sup>163</sup> Cf. Matth. 25,18 <sup>165</sup> Cf. Matth. 5,45 <sup>166</sup> Cf. Luc. 12,42

168 μὴν corr. G. : μὲν OBU : μὴ M 169–170 Cf. I Cor. 9,16 171 ἔχει : ἔχειν O; Cf. Psalm. 118,97  
 171–172 Cf. Psalm. 18,11 et 118,103 176 Cf. Psalm. 118,120 177 Cf. Psalm. 33,14 184 / <sup>7</sup>Hv Hic  
 incipit VIAD'D<sup>2</sup> 185 ἐφ' : ὑφ' O 187 οὗτοι add. OBU 188–189 Cf. Ioann. 3,5 190 ἔξεύραντο  
 : ἔξεύροντο OBU 192 τοῦ om. V 193 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. OBU; Cf. Ephes. 4,13 194 τῶν om. OBU 194–  
 195 Cf. Ioann. 14,6 195–197 Cf. Math. 20,6 et Gal. 1,15 198 ,στοζ V : στο I : ἔξαισιχλιωστῷ  
 το D<sup>1</sup>; ἐβδόμῳ om. D<sup>2</sup> 202 ἐκκλησίας/ἀπαραποίητον add. OBU; παρατιθεῖς : παρατιθὲν  
 OBU 204 ἡσαν<sup>2</sup> om. V 205–206 Cf. Deut. 19,14 207 τὰς ψυχὰς om. VIAD'D<sup>2</sup>

210 λόγων, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ φωνῶν πατρικῶν λογισμοὺς καθήρει καὶ πᾶν  
 ὑψωμα τούτων κατὰ τῆς ψείας γνώσεως ἐπαιρόμενον, πολλοὺς δὲ  
 καὶ ἡχμαλώτιζεν εἰς τὴν ὑποκοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μετατιθεῖς ἀπὸ  
 τῆς πλάνου δόξης ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀμώμητον καὶ τιμίους ἔξαγων ἐξ ἀναξίων  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στόμα Θεοῦ καὶ γινόμενος καὶ λεγόμενος.  
 215 Ὁθεν τοῖς πιστοῖς καθεκάστην πλατυσμὸς ἐπεγίνετο καὶ  
 ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὥξανεν, ὃ περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχῆς  
 Λουκᾶ λέγοντος ἀκτηκόμεν, εἰ βούλει δέ μοι ἐκεῖνο τὸ παλαιόν· ὃ  
 μὲν οἶκος Δανιὴλ ἐπορεύετο, ὃ δὲ οἶκος Σαοὺλ ὑπεπόδιξε καθεκάστην  
 ἐλαττονύμενος.  
 220 18. Τὸ δὲ τῶν αἱρετικῶν σύστημα τῇ τοῦ λόγου δυνάμει καὶ  
 τῇ ἀληθείᾳ νικώμενον, ὃ μόνον ἡδύνατο, μᾶλλον δὲ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς  
 αὐτῶν ὑπεβάλλοντο τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωποτόνου καὶ τῷ κακοποιεῖν  
 ἐγκαυχωμένου, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ εἰργάζοντο, μυρίαις κακώσεσι  
 καὶ πειρασμοῖς τὸν ἄγιον θλίβοντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Σφεντόπλικον,  
 225 δὲ μετὰ Ῥασίσθλαβον ἥρξε Μοράβου, περιελθόντες ἀπάτῃ,  
 βάρβαρον ἄνδρα καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ἀνεννόητον, ὅλον τῆς δόξης ἑαυτῶν  
 ἐποιήσαντο. Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἐκεῖνος, ἀνδράποδον ἡδονῶν γυναικείων  
 δὲν καὶ τῷ βορβόρῳ τῶν μυστῶν ἐγκυλιόμενος μίξεων, ἐκείνοις  
 μᾶλλον διδόναι τὴν οἰκείαν γνώμην τοῖς ψύρων αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ  
 230 πάνη πᾶσαν ἀνοίγουσιν ἡ Μεθοδίῳ τῷ πάσης ἡδονῆς πικρίαν ψυχόλεθρον  
 στηλιτεύοντι; "Οπερ γὰρ Εὐνόμιος ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῆς τῶν Ἀνομοίων  
 ἄρξας αἱρεσεως, ἔξεῦρε πρὸς τὸ μαθητὰς ἐπισπᾶσθαι πλείονας,  
 τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν Σπραγγῶν ἀνόητον ἐπενόησε, τὸ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι,  
 φημί, πάντα συγχωρεῖν ἀπόνως οὕτω καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως  
 235 ὑπὲρ ἐνός, τοῦ τοῖς αὐτῶν συντίθεσθαι δόγμασι, καὶ βίον ρύπαρὸν  
 ἐνδιδόναι ύπερ τοῦ δόγμα στρεβλὸν κερδῆσαι, ὥσπερ ἀν εἴ  
 τινες ἀλληλοις ἀντιδοῖεν, ὃ μὲν κοπρίαν, ὃ δὲ βόρβορον, ἄξιοι  
 γε τῶν τοιούτων ἐκεῖνοι υησαυρισμάτων τῆς πραγματείας, ἐν ἦ  
 καὶ τὸ ἐμπόρευμα ρύπαρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀντάλλαγμα βδελυρόν.  
 240 19. Υπὸ τούτων οὖν ὁ Σφεντόπλικος διαφθαρεῖς τῶν πάντα  
 χαριζομένων αὐτῷ τοῖς Μεθοδίου λόγοις ἐλάχιστα προσεῦχε τὸν  
 νοῦν· τούναντίον μὲν οὖν καὶ ὡς ἔχθρῷ προσεφέρετο· βδέλυγμα γάρ,  
 φησίν, ἀμαρτωλῷ θεοσέβεια. Καίτοι τί μὲν οὐκ ἔλεγεν ἵλαρόν, τί  
 δὲ οὐκ ἡπείλει φοβερὸν ὃ μέγας τῷ ἀρχοντι; Τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 245 θείων Γραφῶν τὴν τοῦ δόγματος εἰσάγων ὄρθότητα καὶ ταύταις προσέχειν  
 ὡς τὴν ζωὴν προξενούσαις καὶ πηγαῖς οὔσαις τοῦ σωτηρίου  
 διατατόμενος· ὃ τε γάρ Κύριος ἐν τῇ ἐρεύνῃ τῶν Γραφῶν τὴν ζωὴν  
 κεῖσθαι ἐδείξατο, Ἡσαΐας τε ἀντλεῖν ὑμῖν ὑδωρ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν  
 αἱρέσεων βορβόρου, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ σωτηρίου ἐντέλλεται. Τοῦτο  
 250 δὲ καὶ ἐκφοβῶν αὐτὸν ὡς, εἰ τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς προσθοῖτο, καὶ  
 ἔαυτὸν διαφθερεῖ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτόν, τοῖς ἔχθροῖς γινόμενος

210–212 Cf. 2 Cor. 10,5 213 ἀληθῆ : ἀληθινὴν OBU 213–214 Cf. Ier. 15,19 218–219 Cf. 2  
 Reg. 3,1 220–239 Τὸ δὲ...βδελυρόν. om IAD<sup>1</sup>D<sup>2</sup> 221–222 Cf. Ioann. 8,44 223 ἐγκαυχωμένου :  
 ἐγκαυχωμένῳ OBU 223–224 μυρίαις...ἐπεὶ om. V 224–225 Σφεντόπλικον M : ὁ  
 σφεντόπλικον OBU 227 γάρ : δὲ OBU 228 μίξεων : πράξεων VM 233 δὴ : δὲ OBU 235 τοῦ  
 om. O 237 ἀντιδοῖεν : ἀντιδοῖεν O 240 Σφεντόπλικος M : σφεντόπληκτος VIAD<sup>1</sup>D<sup>2</sup> :  
 σφινδόπλικος OBU 242–243 Cf. Sap. Sir. 1,25 244 ἀρχοντι/ Hic desinit D<sup>1</sup> 246 Cf. Isa. 12,3  
 247–248 Cf. Ioann. 5,39 248 ἐδείξατο : ἐδείξατο IAD<sup>2</sup> : ἐδίδαξεν O; τοῦ om. OBU 249 Cf. Isa.  
 12,3 250 αὐτὸν om. OBUV

εὐεπιχείρητος καὶ εὐχείρωτος· δυσσέβεια γάρ καν πρὸς ὄλιγον  
 ἀνθῆ, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ περὶ ἑαυτὴν καταρρεῖ, ἵνα μὴ κακίαν εὐσέβεις  
 μάθωσι. Καὶ ταῦτα ἔλεγε μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν τῷ ἄρχοντι προσγενήσεσθαι,  
 255 ἀπερ οὖν καὶ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ ἀγίου προρρήσεις γέγονε.

20. Καὶ γὰρ ἔως μὲν Μεθόδιος ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἔξεταζόμενος  
 ἦν οὕτε ὁ ἄρχων τὴν ὠδῖνα τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρρηξεν, ἀλλ' εἶχε τὸν  
 βασιλίσκον τοῖς ωῖς τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐγκρυπτόμενόν τε καὶ ἐντρεφόμενον,  
 οὕτε ἡ δίκη τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπήγαγε μάστιγα, ἀλλ' εἶχε μὲν ἐντεταμένον  
 260 τὸ τόξον καὶ τὴν ὥμφατάν εστίλβου, οὗπω δὲ βέλος ἀπέστελλεν  
 ἐν καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἔχθροῦ οὐδὲ τὴν χεῖρα τῇ πληγῇ ἐπεστήριζεν.  
 'Επεὶ δὲ ὁ τε ἄγιος ἀπῆν καὶ ἡ κακία πᾶσα παρῆν, οὐχ ὑπὸ παραπετάσματι  
 καὶ προσωπείῳ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καλύπτουσα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 τῆς πόρνης ὅψιν ὀναισχυντήσασα καὶ διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν ὄρθιοδόξων  
 265 ἐγείρασα, τότε δὴ καὶ Θεὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα ποιηλατῶν οὐκ ἐνέλειψεν.  
 'Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον.

VI. 21. Τότε δὲ Μεθόδιος τῷ τε ἄρχοντι τὴν οἰκείαν προεῖπε  
 τελευτὴν μετὰ τρεῖς ἐσομένην ἡμέρας, τῶν συχνῶν παραινέσεων  
 βεβαίωσιν τὴν πρόρρησιν ταύτην, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, ποιούμενος. Εἰ  
 270 γὰρ ἡ πρόρρησις προφήτην αὐτὸν ἐποίει, εἰς ἔργον ἐκβᾶσα, καὶ τῶν  
 μελλόντων τὴν προοψίαν λαχόντα τῷ Πνεύματι, πρόδηλον ὡς καὶ τὸ  
 παρὰ τούτου συνεργούμενον δόγμα πνευματικὸν καὶ θεόπνευστον.

22. Καὶ τοὺς ὄμιλητὰς αὐτὸν συγκαλέσας μιμεῖται Παῦλον,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ τοῖς ἔξιτηρίοις αὐτὸὺς παρακαλεῖ  
 275 καὶ στηρίζει ρήμασι, καλόν γε κλῆρον τοῖς παισὶν ἐκεῖνος  
 διατυπούμενος καὶ τῶν καμάτων ἐπάξιον ὃν ἡνέσχετο ἵνα τὴν  
 τοιαύτην περιουσίαν ἑαυτῷ κτήσηται. Τίς ο κλῆρος τάχα ποθεῖτε  
 μαθεῖν; τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγια τὰ ἐπιθυμητὰ ύπερ χρυσίον καὶ λίθον  
 τίμιον πολὺν καὶ ἡ σοφία, ἥν κρεῖττον ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἡ χρυσίον  
 280 καὶ ἀργυρίου θησαυρούς. Οἴδατε γάρ, φησίν, ὡς σπλάγχνα ἐμά, τὴν  
 τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἐν κακίᾳ δύναμιν καὶ ὅπως δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ πάντα τρόπον τοὺς πλησίον ἀνατροπὴν ψολερὰν ποτίζειν σπουδάζουσι, δύο  
 ταῦτα προσλαμβανόμενοι καὶ προσάγοντες πιθανότητά τε καὶ  
 αὐστηρότητα τὴν μὲν τοῖς ἀπλουστέροις, τὴν δὲ τοῖς δειλοτέροις.  
 285 'Αλλ' ὑμῖν ἀμφοτέρωθεν καλῶς ἔχειν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐλπίζω καὶ εὔχομαι,  
 οὕτε γὰρ πιθανότητι λόγων παρασυρήσεσθε καὶ διὰ τῆς κενῆς ἀπάτης  
 συλαγωγηθήσεσθε· τεθεμελίωσθε γάρ ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς  
 ὁμολογίας καὶ διδασκαλίας πέτραν, ἐφ' ἣ τῆς ἐκκλησίας φοκοδομημένης  
 πύλαι ἄδου οὐ κατισχύσουσι, πιστὸς γάρ ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος·  
 290 οὕτε φοβερῷ τινι τοὺς τῶν καρδιῶν πύργους διασεισθήσεσθε, ἐμάθετε  
 γάρ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι ἀπὸ ὑψους ἡμέρας μηδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων  
 τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων κακῶσαι. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν

252 καὶ εὐχείρωτος om. VIAD<sup>2</sup> 252–253 Cf. Demosthenis Olynthiaca secunda, 10 256 μὲν om.  
 O 258 Cf. Isa. 59,5 259–260 Cf. Psalm. 7,13 260–261 ἀπέστελλεν : ἀπέστειλεν OBU; Cf.  
 Psalm. 17,15 261 ἐπεστήριζεν : ἐπεστήριξεν OBU; Cf. Psalm. 37,3 263 καλύπτουσα :  
 καταλυπόντα O 264 Cf. Ier. 3,3 265 καὶ/ό add. O; ποιηλατῶν : πονηλατῶν O 267 δὲ/ό add.  
 Obu; τε : τότε OBUID<sup>2</sup> 273–274 Cf. Acta ap. 20,17 sqq. 278 ἐπιθυμητὰ om. V 278–279 Cf.  
 Psalm. 18,11 279 ἐμπορεύεσθαι : ἐμπεπόρευεσθαι OBU 279–280 Cf. Prov. 3,14 281 δολοῦντες  
 : ψολοῦντες O 281–282 Cf. 2 Cor. 4,2 282 Cf. Habac. 2,15 286–287 Cf. Col. 2,4 et 8 287–289 Cf.  
 Matth. 16,18 288 ἥ : ἥν OBU 289 Cf. Hebr. 291 Cf. Psalm. 55,3–4 291–292 Cf. Matth. 10,28

τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιστηρίζετε φυλάττειν τὴν παρακαταθήκην, ἢν παρὰ  
τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς πατέρων ἐλάβομεν, ἢν ἀπαιτήσουσιν  
295 ήμᾶς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀνταποδόσεως. Ἰδοὺ προεῖπον ὑμῖν  
καὶ ἀμαρτίας ἐνόχους διὰ τοῦ προειπεῖν ἐποίησα· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἥλθον,  
φησί, καὶ ἐλάλησα αὐτοῖς, ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ εἶχον. Ἀθῷός εἴμι  
ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος ὑμῶν, οὐ γὰρ ὑπεστειλάμην τοῦ λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν,  
ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἔργῳ κατὰ τὸν Ἱεζεκιὴλ ἐπιγρύπνησα. Βλέπετε  
300 πῶς ἀκριβῶς περιπατήσετε μὴ ὡς ἄσοφοι, ἀλλ’ ὡς σοφοί, καὶ  
πάσῃ φυλακῇ τὰς ὑμῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν καρδίας τηρήσατε·  
ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ παγίδων διαβήσεσθε καὶ ἐπὶ ἐπάλξεων πόλεων  
περιπατήσετε. Καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτὴν εἰσελεύσονται  
καθ’ ὑμῶν λύκοι βαρεῖς μὴ φειδόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου τοῦ ἀπατᾶν  
305 τὸν λαὸν ὅπισα αὐτῶν, οἷς ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει.  
‘Ο Παῦλος ὑμῖν ταῦτα δι’ ἐμοῦ διατίθεται. ‘Ο δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς  
καὶ Πατῆρ καὶ ὁ ἔξ αὐτοῦ πρὸ αἰώνων γεννηθεὶς ἀπαύθως Υἱὸς  
καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον ὁδηγήσει  
ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἀμέμπτους παραστήσει εἰς καύχημα  
310 ἐμὸν εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ.

23. Ταῦτα καὶ πλείω τούτων εἰπών, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῖς δορυφορήσασιν  
αὐτὸν ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς φυλάξασιν ἄγειν  
δέδωκε, τέταρτον μὲν πρὸς τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτος τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ  
ἐμπρέψας, πολλῷ δὲ μόχθῳ καὶ κόπῳ οὐ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ μόρνην ἀλλὰ καὶ  
315 τὴν τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίαν κατεργασάμενος. Οὐ γὰρ ἐσκόπει τὸ ἐαυτοῦ,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἵνα σωθῶσι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας  
τοῦτο ζῶν μόνον, δι τῶν ἄλλους ὥφελει· δηλοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν  
τε πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων καὶ ὑποδιακόνων, οὓς τελευτῶν διακοσίους  
τῇ ἐνορίᾳ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκκλησίας ἐγκαταλέλοιπεν. Εἰ γὰρ  
320 οἱ τοῦ βῆματος μόνου τοσοῦτοι, πόσον εἶναι τῶν λαϊκῶν τὸ πλῆθος  
εἰκάσωμεν; Ἐφέρετο δὲ ἄρα τούτων τὴν πρώτην Γοράσδος, ὃν καὶ  
προφθάσας ὁ λόγος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν Μεθόδιού ὄμιλητῶν ἀπηρίθμησεν,  
δις καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μοράβου παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου τὰ τελευταῖα  
ζῶντος ἀνακεκήρυκτο.

325 24. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἡνεγκεν ἡ πάντολμος πληθὺς τῶν αἱρετικῶν  
τὸν Μεθόδιον ἔχειν καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ζῶντα ἀντίμαχον ἀμαχον.  
‘Αλλὰ δεῦτε, εἰπόντες, Γοράσδον καταδυναστεύσωμεν τε  
καὶ ἐνεδρεύσωμεν’ ἀνόμοιος γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ παρηλλαγμέναι  
οἱ τρίβοι αὐτοῦ καὶ δονειδίζει ἡμῖν ἀμαρτήματα καὶ  
330 εἰ ζῆν οὗτος ἑαθείη, ἀναβαίωθε ἀν ἡμῖν ὁ Μεθόδιος. Τοῦτον μὲν  
τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς ἀρχῆς παραλύουσι, Βιχνίκον δέ τινα τοῦ τῆς αἱρέσεως

296–297 Cf. Ioann. 15–19 298 Cf. Acta ap. 20,26–27 299 Cf. Ezek. 3,17 et 33,7 299–300 Cf. Ephes. 5,15 301 τῶν om. OBUV 302–303 Cf. Sap. Sir. 9,18 303–304 Cf. Acta ap. 20, 29–30 303–306 περιπατήσετε..πεπιστεύκαμεν om. A 305 Cf. I Petr. 5,9 306–307 Cf. Ephes. 4,6 308–309 Cf. Ioann. 16,13 309 Cf. I Thess. 3,13 309–310 Phil. 2,16 311–312 Cf. Psalm. 90,11 314 καὶ κόπῳ om. VID<sup>2</sup>, Cf. 2 Cor. 11,27 314–315 Cf. PHil. 2,4 315–316 Cf. I Cor. 10,33 316 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. VID<sup>2</sup> 317 δ/καὶ add. O 318 οὖς/καὶ add. O 319 ἐγκαταλέλοιπεν : κατέλιπεν VID<sup>2</sup> 320 μόνου : μόνοι OBU 321 εἰκάσωμεν : σκοπήσωμεν V (ἢ εἰκάσωμεν V in margin) : εἰκάσωμεν O; Γοράσδος : γοράσδης OBU 324 ἀνακεκήρυκτο : ἀνεκηρυττετο OBUD<sup>2</sup> 326–327 ἀμαχον om. O 327 Γοράσδον : γοράσδην O 327–329 Cf. Sap. Sir. 2,10,12 et 15 328 καὶ om. V; ἡμῖν om. VI; καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. VI 330 Μεθόδιος/καὶ add. OID<sup>2</sup> 331 ἐπισκοπικῆς : ἐπισκοπῆς OBU; Βιχνίκον : Βιχλίσκον OBU : Βιχνίσκον ID<sup>2</sup>

δικράτου μεθυσθέντα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μεθύσκειν δυνάμενον  
καὶ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ Μεθόδιού τῷ τοῦ ἀναθέματος σατανᾶ  
παραδοθέντα μετὰ τοῦ θιάσου τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μαινομένων, τοῦτον,  
335 ὃ πόνοι καὶ ἀγῶνες τοῦ Μεθόδιού καὶ Τριάς συγχεομένη τὰς ἰδιότητας,  
ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ἀνάγουσι, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν θρόνον διὰ τοῦτον  
κατάγουσιν· ὅσῳ διὰ Μεθόδιον ἔνδοξος ἦν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν προφανόμενος,  
τοσούτῳ διὰ Βιχνίκον τῇ τῆς ἀδοξίας κοιλάδι  
ἐπικλινόμενος.

340 25. Ἀλλ’ οὐ μὲν οὕτω τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς παρανόμως καὶ μηδὲν  
αὐτῷ προσῆκον ἐδράξατο, ἐαυτῷ λαβὼν τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγησάμενος  
καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κληθέντα τυραννίδι βραχίονος ἀμαρτωλοῦ  
παραγκωνισάμενος· κεφαλὴν δὲ ἡ αἵρεσις αἴρει καὶ κατὰ τῆς ὄρθοδόξου  
πληθύνος τῶν Μεθόδιού μαθητῶν γαυριὰ καὶ δὴ, υφυβήσαντες καὶ  
345 τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐπαναστάντες, διὰ τί, φασίν, ἵτι τοῖς Μεθόδιού  
λόγοις τοῖς ὀδωδόσι καὶ νεκροῖς εὐνούστερον προσδιάκεισθε, ἀλλὰ  
μὴ τῷ ζῶντι ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ συνίστασθε καὶ ὅμοιογειτε ἐκ Πατρὸς Υἱὸν  
γεννηθέντα καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορευόμενον;

26. Οἱ δὲ διὰ Γοράσδον καὶ Κλήμενος ἔφασαν ὅτι μὲν Μεθόδιος  
350 ἔτι ζῇ, ἐκ τοῦ Κυρίου πάντως ἐμάρθομεν ποτὲ μὲν τὸν εἰς  
αὐτὸν πιστεύσαντα κἀντα ἀποθάνῃ ζήσησθαι φάσκοντος, ποτὲ δὲ διδάσκοντος  
τὸν Θεὸν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ ὡς ζῶσιν, ἀλλ’  
οὐ νεκροῖς ἐπιλέγεσθαι. Τί γοῦν ἀμαρτάνομεν, εἰ τὸν ἐν Θεῷ  
ζῶντα διδάσκαλον ἔχομεν, πνευματικῶς ἡμῖν συνόντα καὶ συλλαλοῦντα  
355 καὶ καθ’ ὑμῶν συνεπιρρωνύονται; Τὴν δὲ καινὴν ταύτην  
πίστιν ὑμῶν οὕπω καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Γραφῆς μαρτυρουμένην οἰασοῦν  
εὐρόντες οὕπο τὸν πατέρων ὄγιον συντεθειμένην, ὀκνοῦμεν  
ὑποβαλεῖν ἐαυτοὺς ἀναθέματι, τὸν Παύλου διαρρήδην βοῶντος·  
εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ’ ὅπερελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Ἡμεῖς  
360 γὰρ Πνεῦμα μὲν Υἱοῦ, ἐπεὶ πνεῦμα ζωῆς καὶ ἀληθεῖας, ἀ  
καὶ ὁ Υἱός, καὶ νοῦν Χριστοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα πιστεύομεν· ἐξ Υἱοῦ  
δὲ τοῦτο προερχόμενον οὕτε μεμαθηκαμεν οὕτε μαθησόμεθα, οὕτε  
τὴν πίστιν ἀρνησόμεθα καὶ χείρονες ἀπίστων ἐσόμεθα, οὐ μὰ  
τὸν ἀγιασμὸν τῆς τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος χάριτος. Ἀλλ’ ἐκ Πατρὸς  
365 μὲν προϊέναι τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ εἶναι τούτου αἴτιον καὶ προβολέα  
τὸν τοῦ Υἱοῦ γεννήτορα πεπιστεύκαμεν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ  
οἰκεῖον καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ χορηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐκάστοτε· ἔτερον  
δὲ τὸ ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ ἔτερον τὸ χορηγεῖσθαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ  
τοῦ πᾶς εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκφαντικόν, ὡς γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς ἔστιν ἐκ  
370 τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννητῶς, οὕτω τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορευτῶς, τὸ δὲ χορηγεῖσθαι  
οὐ τὸ πᾶς εἶναι δηλοῦ ἀλλὰ πλούτισμὸν ἐνδείκνυται  
καὶ διάδοσιν.

332 τοὺς om. OBU; μεθύσκειν : μεθύειν OBU 333–334 Cf. I Cor. 5,5 et I Tim. 1,20 337 κατάγουσι/καὶ add. O 338 τοσούτῳ : τοσοῦτον VID<sup>2</sup>; Βιχλίσκον OBU : βιχνίσκον I 338–339 ἐπικλινόμενος M : ἐπικλινόμενον codd. 340/’Αλλ’ Hic incipit R 341 Cf. Hebr. 5,4 341–342 Cf. Phil. 2,6 342 Cf. Hebr. 5,4; Cf. Psalm. 9,36 343 ὄρθοδοξούσης OBUR 348 καὶ om. OBUR 350 ἐξ om. OBUR 350–351 Cf. Ioann. 11,25 352–353 Cf. Matth. 22,32 353 γοῦν : οὖν OBUR 359 Cf. Gal. 1,9 360 ἐπεὶ/καὶ add. OBUIRD<sup>2</sup>; Cf. Ioann. 14,6 et 17 361 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. VRID<sup>2</sup> 362–363 Cf. I Tim. 5,8 365 τούτου : τοῦτο OBU 369 εἶναι/καὶ add. OBU; τὸ Πνεῦμα : τὸν μὲν υἱὸν BUVIAD<sup>2</sup>

27. Καὶ ἵνα παραδείγματί τινι τὸν λόγον ὡς ἐγχωρεῖ φωτίσωμεν, ἐννόησον μοι βασιέλα τινὰ πλοῦτον μάλα πολὺν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων θησαυρῶν προβαλλόμενον, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν παραλαβόντα οὐκεῖον τε αὐτοῦ ἔχειν καὶ διανέμειν τοῖς εὐαρεστοῦσιν αὐτῷ. Βασιλεὺς ὁ Πατήρ· πλοῦτος, ὡς ἐν εἰκόνι φάναι, τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀρρήτων θησαυρῶν προβληθέν· υἱὸς βασιλεὺς ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς Υἱός, οὐ τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ δι' οὐ χορηγεῖται.

380 Ορᾶτε τὸ Πνεῦμα πᾶς ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν ἐξ Υἱοῦ μὲν οὐ προερχόμενον, δι' Υἱοῦ δὲ χορηγούμενον; Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐμφυσῆσαι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ εἰπεῖν λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἄγιον, τοῦτο σε ταράττει, παχέως τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ὡμίλησας· χάρισμα γὰρ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐν τῶν τοῦ Πνεύματος δέδωκε, τὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν

385 ὡς δηλοῦ τὸ ἔξῆς; πνεύματα δὲ τὰς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Πνεύματος καὶ τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ φίλον ἀνακαλεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα τηνικαῦτα τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἔχαριστο. Δῆλον δὲ, καὶ γὰρ εἰ τότε τὸ Πνεῦμα δέδοκεν, ἢ περιττὴ λοιπὸν ἡ ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ τοῦτου κάνοδος ἢ ἄλλου πνεύματος εἰ μὴ περιττῇ. Ποῖον οὖν τοῦτο ὡς ἢ γε

390 ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν Πνεῦμα πρεσβεύουσα φαίνεται; Εἰ δὲ δύο εἶν τόποτερον οὖν τούτων οὐχ ἄγιον; Εἰ τοίνυν τὸ ἄγιον διὰ τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος ὁ Κύριος δέδωκεν αὐτὸ ἑκεῖνο, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐν πνευματικὸν χάρισμα, τὸ κατελθὸν ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ δῆλον ὡς οὐχ ἄγιον. Ἀλλ' εἰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν τὸ βλάσφημον τράποιτο. Δύο δὲ ποιοῦντες ὑμεῖς ἀρχάς, τοῦ μὲν Υἱοῦ τὸν Πατέρα, τοῦ δὲ Πνεύματος τὸν Υἱόν, ἄλλην τινὰ μανίαν μανιχαϊκὴν μαίνεσθε.

28. Ἡμῖν δὲ εἰς μὲν Θεὸς, μία δὲ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀρχή, ὁ Πατήρ· τοῦ μὲν Υἱοῦ πατήρ, τοῦ δὲ Πνεύματος προβολεύς, ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ εἰς ἡλίος ἀρχὴ τῆς τε ἀκτῖνος καὶ τῆς λάμψεως ἡτοι θάλψεως.

400 Τῇ τοίνυν ἀκτῖνῃ καὶ ἡ λάμψις σύνεστι καὶ ἡ θάλψις ὡσπερ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἡ λάμψις ἐστὶν ὡσπερ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἄμφω μέντοι ἐκ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν τῷ ὑποδείγματι διὰ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἡ λάμψις ἡτοι θάλψις τῷ σωματικῷ κόσμῳ δίδοται, οὕτω διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ χορηγεῖται τῇ νοητῇ κτίσει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον. Ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, εἰ μὲν ὡς Μανιχαῖοι τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον, οὕτως ὑμεῖς ἄλλο τι προενεγκεῖν ἔχετε τὴν τοιαύτην περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος διδασκαλίαν εἰσηγησάμενον, δείξατε τοῦτο κεκανονισμένον καὶ σιωπήσομεν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτας τιμήσομεν. Εἰ δὲ τέσσαροι μὲν ἀρχαῖς ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παράδεισος ἐκ μιᾶς πηγῆς χεομέναις ποτίζεται Μαθαῖον, Μάρκον, Λουκᾶν καὶ Ἰωάννην, οἵμαι, συνήκατε, ὁ δὲ πέμπτον εἰσάγων εὐαγγέλιον τρισκατάρατος. Ἰωάννης δὲ ἡμῖν τὸν Υἱὸν παρεισάγει λέγοντα, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, παύσασθε καθ' ἑαυτῶν πηγγύντες

375–378 προβαλλόμενον... θησαυρῶν om. D<sup>2</sup> 377 αὐτῷ : αὐτοῖς OBU 378 ἐκ om. O 380 τὸ Πνεῦμα om. V; ἐξ om. VIAD<sup>2</sup> 382 καὶ om. OBU; Cf. Ioann. 20,22 384–385 τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν om. VIAD<sup>2</sup>; Cf. Ioann. 20,23 385 τὸ : τοῖς OBUIRD<sup>2</sup> 386 ἀνακαλεῖν : καλεῖν OBURA; Cf. Isa. 11,2 et 29,10 388 περιττὴ : περιττὸν V 390 Πνεῦμα : ἄγιον OBURA 390–393 Εἰ δὲ...ἄγιον om. R 391 ὁ Κύριος om. V 393 ὡς om. VIAD<sup>2</sup> 393–394 Cf. Nehem. 4,4 et Psalm. 7,17 399 λάμψεως : ἐλάμψεως OIAD<sup>2</sup>; ἡτοι θάλψεως om. VA 402 τοῦ ἡλίου om. V 403 ἡτοι : ἢ IAD<sup>2</sup> 405 μὲν/οὖν add. O 407–408 κεκανονισμένον : κεκανονισμένως V 408 μᾶλλον...τιμήσομεν om. OD<sup>2</sup> 409–410 Cf. Gen. 2,10 410 χεομέναις : χεομένης O : προχεομένης ID<sup>2</sup> : προχεομέναις A 412–413 Cf. Ioann. 15,26

τὸ ξίφος ἐνστατικώτερον, παύσασθε τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ μεγάλῳ εὐαγγελιστῇ 415 καὶ ἐξ οὐ καὶ δι' οὐ καὶ εἰς ὃν εὐαγγέλιον πᾶν μαχόμενοι καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ Πνεύματος περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος δογματίζοντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ ἐναντίῳ ὑποφεγγόμενοι πνεύματι.

IX. 29. Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τοῦ Βιχνίου στασῖται τὰ ὥτα συσχόντες καθάπερ οἱ Στέφανον πάλαι λιθοβολοῦντες, 420 τὸν τοῦ Λόγου γενναῖον μάρτυρα, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον καλῶς ποιοῦντες ὡς οὐκ ἄξιοι τούτων ἀκούειν, θορυβεῖν καὶ πάντα συγχεῖν ἐπεβάλοντο, καὶ μικροῦ μὲν καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἡλθον τοῖς ὄρθοδόξοις, τῇ γλώττῃ καταπονηθείσῃ τὴν χεῖρα διδόντες σύμμαχον. Τέλος δ' οὗν ἀναπηδήσαντες, ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἡλθον καταφυγὴν αὐτῶν, τὸν 425 κονιορτὸν Σφεντόπλικον, καὶ διαβάλλουσι μὲν τοὺς ὄρθοδόξους ὡς νεώτερα φρονοῦντας καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ κινηθησομένους ἄν, εἰ μὴ περὶ τὸ δόγμα τῷ ἀρχοντι συμφρονήσαιεν· τὸ γὰρ ἀντίδοξον καὶ ἀντίμαχον. Ο δὲ τοὺς τοῦ Μεθοδίου προσκαλεσάμενος, τί, φησί, τοῦτο τὸ σχίσμα ἐν ὑμῖν πολιτεύεται καὶ καθεκάστην ἀλλήλοις 430 πολεμίως συμπλέκεσθε; Οὐκ ἀδελφοὶ πάντως ἔστε; Οὐ τῆς Χριστιανῶν μερίδος; Διὰ τί οὖν μὴ συμφονεῖτε ἀλλήλοις, μηδὲ τὴν ἔνωσιν ἐπισπεύδετε;

30. Οἱ δὲ ὅσα στόματι Γοράσδω καὶ Κλήμεντι χρώμενοι, οὗτοι γάρ ἡσαν οἱ τοῦ λόγου ἡγούμενοι, ἔδει μὲν περὶ τούτων, ἔφασαν, 435 ὡ ἄρχον, μακροὺς ἡμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἐλαχίστων οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ ἐλάχιστα ἡμῖν ὁ κίνδυνος ἴσταται, ἀλλὰ περὶ δόγματος μὲν ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ τοῦ περὶ τῆς μακαρίας Τριάδος, περὶ δὲ ψυχήν, τὸ πάντων ἡμῖν οἰκείότατον. Ἐπεὶ δέ σοι τὸ τῶν Γραφῶν ἀνομίλητον μακροτέρων λόγων ἢ βαθύτερων ἀκούειν οὐ δίδωσιν, 440 ἀπλοῦς ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐρώτησιν λόγος ὅτι σχιζόμεθα μὲν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Κύριος μάχαιραν ἡλθε ὀβλεῖν καὶ διχάσαι τὸ κρεῖττον ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος καὶ τοῦ Δανιὸς ἀκούμεν μισοῦντος τοὺς μισοῦντας τὸν Κύριον, λίαν δὲ τιμῶντος τοὺς φίλους Θεοῦ. Χριστιανὸν δὲ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἡμεῖς θείμεν τοὺς μὴ παραδεχομένους τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Ἐκεῖ γὰρ τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς Τριάδος Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ 445 εἰπόντος· τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, οὗτοί φασιν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα. Καίτοι πάντως εἰ τοῦτ' ἦν, τί τὸ κωλύον τὸν Κύριον εἰπεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ὃ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐκπορεύεται; "Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῦτο. Δεύτερον δὲ ἡ ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολει δευτέρα τῶν ἐκ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀθροισθέν 450 των ἀρχιερέων σύνοδος περὶ τοῦ ἄγιου Πνεύματος ἀπεφήνατο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτου χάριν συνήθροιστο ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ πνευματομάχου Μακεδονίου, ἔξενθετό τε πίστεως σύμβολον οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνατροπῆ τοῦ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου τεθεσπισμένου, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐκείνη ἐνέλιπεν,

416 χωρὶς τοῦ Πνεύματος / τὰ add. V 417 πνεύματι / Hic desinunt RA 418 Βιχνίου : βιχλίσκου OBU : βιχνίσκου I 419 Cf. Acta ap. 7,57–58 419–422 τὰ...καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. ID<sup>2</sup> 421–422 ἐπεβάλλοντο : ἐπεβάλλοντο OBU 424 ἀναπηδήσαντες : ἀποπηδήσαντες V 425 Σφεντόπλικον : σφεντόπλικον V : σφεντόπλικον I : σφυντόπλικον OBU 425–428 καὶ...ἀντίμαχον om. ID<sup>2</sup> 427 περὶ : παρὰ V 429 σχίσμα : σχῆμα OBUID<sup>2</sup>; καὶ om. OBU 430 πάντως : πάντες OBU 435 ἡμᾶς om. VI 436 τὰ om. OBU 438 ψυχήν : ψυχῆς O 441 ὁ om. OBUV; Cf. Matth. 10,34–35 442 Cf. Psalm. 138,21 445–446 Cf. Ioann. 15,26 446–448 καίτοι ... ἐκπορεύεται om. VID<sup>2</sup> 447 τοῦτ' ἦν om. O 449 Κωνσταντινούπολει : κωνσταντιπόλει O 453 ἐκείνη : ἐκεῖνος OBU

οῖα δὴ μὴ κινηθέντων τότε τῶν περὶ τοῦ Πνεῦματος ζητημάτων, τοῦτο  
 αὔτη ἀναπληροῦσα καὶ σφέζουσα τὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἡ ψυγάτηρ ύστερομα.  
 Ἰδωμεν οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ συμβόλῳ ὃ καθεκάστην ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἐκφωνεῖς,  
 ὁ ἄρχον, καὶ σύ, ἐκ τῶν γραικικῶν βιβλίων μεταληφθέν, πότερον  
 πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον ἢ τὸ  
 ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁμολογοῦμεν. Πῶς τοίνυν συμφωνήσομεν τοῖς παρὰ τὸ  
 εὐαγγέλιον φρονοῦσι καὶ τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Πνεῦματος τῶν πατέρων  
 ἔκθεσιν, τοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς φωνοῦσι κατὰ τὸν ἑγγαστριμύθους; Τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ  
 πρὸς σκότος, φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος; Εἰ μὲν οὖν μεταβαλοῦνται  
 τὰς γνώμας καὶ μετὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῶν πατέρων στήσονται, ὡς  
 ἀδελφοῖς προσδραμοῦμεν καὶ περιπλακησόμεθα καὶ περιπτυξόμεθα. Εἰ  
 δὲ τὸν ἐναντιον τὴν ἡμῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ἀποποιοῦμενοι, διπέσω τῆς  
 διανοίας αὐτῶν πορεύονται καὶ ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν ματαιοῦνται,  
 σχολῇ γ' ἀνήμετις ὑπ' αὐτοῖς καθηγηταῖς τὸ περὶ τῆς Τριάδος  
 δόγμα μαθεῖν δεξαίμεθα. Ταῦτα ἡ περὶ τὸν ὁρθοδόξους πληθύν,  
 προηγόροις Γοράσδω καὶ Κλήμεντι χρώμενοι.

470 Χ. 31. Ο δὲ ἄρχων μόλις μὲν συνῆκεν δλίγα τινὰ τῶν λεχθέντων.  
 Ἡν γὰρ παντάπασι γνῶναι τι τῶν θεῶν ἡλιθιώτατος, ὅμα μὲν  
 ὡς ἀνηγμένος βαρβαρικώτερον καὶ συνόλως εἰπεῖν ἀλογώτερον, ὅμα δὲ  
 καὶ τὸν νοῦν παρὰ τῆς μιαρᾶς ἡδονῆς παρασευλημένος, ὡς εἴρηται.  
 Πῶς γὰρ ἔμελλε τοῖς περὶ τῆς Τριάδος λόγοις ἐμβῆναι ἀνθρωπος πάμπολιν  
 τοῦ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἀπέχων ἀγιασμοῦ, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς τὸν Κύριον  
 ὅψεται;

32. Ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αἱρετικῶν προβιβασθεῖς, Ἡν γὰρ ὅλος αὐτοῖς  
 προσκείμενος, τοιάνδε τοῖς ὁρθοδόξοις ἀπόφασιν ἔδωκεν. Ἐγὼ  
 μὲν ἔμαυτῷ πολὺν τὸν ἰδιωτισμὸν σύνοιδα καὶ ἀπλοῦς εἰμι τὰ  
 480 δογματικὰ καὶ τί γὰρ ἡ ἀγράμματος; Τοῦ μέντοι χριστιανισμοῦ μεταποιοῦμαί  
 τε καὶ μεταποίησομαι· ἀμφιβολίας δὲ τοιαύτας οἵας ἡμῖν  
 ἀνεγείρετε λύειν οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἐγὼ διὰ λόγων οὐδὲ διακρίνειν ὁρθοδόξου  
 ψευδοδιδάσκαλον. Ως οὖν χριστιανὸς δικάσω ὑμῖν ἀμέλει  
 καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ δόγματος ἀποφαίνομαι, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 485 ἀποφαίνεσθαι εἴθισμαι· διὸ ὃν παριδὼν ὁμόσειν ὡς καλῶς καὶ ὁρθοδόξως  
 πιστεύει, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν κρίσιν μηδὲν τι  
 τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς περὶ τὴν πίστιν σφαλλόμενον· τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν  
 παραδόσω καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιδώσω κατὰ τὸ εἰκός  
 πρεσβυτερίον.

490 XI. 33. Οι τοίνυν Σπραγγοὶ προθυμότατα περὶ τὸν ὄρκον διατεθέντες  
 οὐδὲ τὸ τέλος τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀναμείναντες ἀποφάσεως, ὕμοσαν  
 καὶ ἔστησαν τὴν κενοδοξίαν αὐτῶν, ἀνοήτῳ κρίσει πέρας ἐπιθέντες  
 καταλλήλον. Παρὰ τοιούτοις κριταῖς ἡ αἴρεσις κατὰ τῆς  
 ὁρθοδοξίας ἐστεφανώσατο καὶ πᾶσαν ἔσχεν ἔξουσίαν ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν  
 495 τοὺς Χριστοῦ γνησίους δούλους καὶ τῆς πίστεως φύλακας. Εἰ  
 γάρ τις φησί, φωραθείη μὴ πιστεύων κατὰ τὴν τῶν Σπραγγῶν ἔκθεσιν,

457 γραικικῶν: γραικῶν OBUID<sup>2</sup> 457–458 πότερον: πρότερον OBU 458 Πνεῦμα/τὸ ἄγιον  
 add. V 461 Cf. Isa. 8,19 461–462 Cf. 2 Cor. 6,14 463 γνώμας: γνώσεις OBU 464 ἀδελφοῖς:  
 ἀδελφοὶ O 465 Cf. Matth. 23,10 466 ἐν om. V 466–467 Cf. Rom. 1,21 468 δεξαίμεθα: δεξόμεθα  
 OBU 469 προηγόροις: προηγόρους OBU; προηγόροις ... χρώμενοι om. ID<sup>2</sup> 470–495  
 μόλις...φύλακας om. ID<sup>2</sup> 470 τινὰ om. V 473 παρὰ om. OBU 474 γάρ/καὶ add. V; τῆς om.  
 OBU 475–476 Cf. Hebr. 12,14 478 τοιάνδε om. V 478–487 Ἐγὼ...σφαλλόμενον om. V 492  
 κενοδοξίαν: κακοδοξίαν OBU

αὐτοῖς ἔκεινοις παραδούσεται χρησιμένοις ὃ τι καὶ  
 βούλονται.

34. Τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις τίς ἀν ἐκδιηγήσαιτο λόγος, ὅσα κακία  
 500 λαβομένη δυναστείας εἰργάσατο; Πῦρ ἀτεχνῶς ἐν ὕλῃ πνεύματι ῥιπιζόμενον.  
 Οἱ μὲν ἡνάγκαζον συνθέσθαι τῷ πονηρῷ δόγματι, οἱ δὲ τὴν  
 τῶν πατέρων πίστιν ὑπελογίζοντο. Οἱ μὲν πάντα πράττειν, οἱ δὲ  
 πάντα πάσχειν παρασκευάζοντο. Τοὺς μὲν ἀπανθρώπως ἡκίζοντο, τῶν  
 505 γυμνοὺς ἐπ' ἀκανθῶν ἔσυρον καὶ ταῦτα γέροντας ἀνδρας καὶ τὸν  
 δαυιτικὸν δρόν της ἡλικίας ὑπερπήδησανατας. "Οσοι δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
 καὶ διακόνων ἡσαν νεώτεροι, τούτους τοῖς Ιουδαίοις ἐπώλουν  
 οἱ τῆς Ιουδα μοίρας καὶ τῆς ἀγχόνης ἐπάξιοι· ὡς γὰρ ἔκεινος  
 Χριστόν, οὕτως οὗτοι τὸν Χριστοῦ δούλους, μᾶλλον δὲ φίλους  
 510 κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν, θαρρήσας δὲ φήσαιμι καὶ χριστούς,  
 τοῖς δεὶ παραπικραίνουσιν παρεδίδοσαν. Οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ πάντως  
 ἡσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς διακοσίους ἀπαριθμούμενοι καυ' ἀ δὴ προειρήκαμεν  
 οἱ τοῦ βῆματος.

XII. 35. "Οσοι δὲ διδασκάλων ἐπεῖχον τάξιν, οἷος δὴ Γοράσδος  
 515 ἔκεινος, οὗ πολλάκις ἐμήνησθμεν, ὃν ἐκ Μοράβου γενόμενον  
 καὶ ἄμφω τῷ γλώττα τὴν τε σύλοβενικὴν ὄντα καὶ τὴν γραικικὴν  
 ἰκανώτατον ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ Μεθοδίου τῷ θρόνῳ δέδωκεν, ἡ δὲ τῶν αἱρετικῶν  
 κακία τὸν θρόνον τῇ στερήσει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπεκόσμησε,  
 καὶ μέντοι καὶ Κλήμης πρεσβύτερος, ἀνὴρ λογιώτατος καὶ Λαυρέντιος  
 520 καὶ Ναοῦμ καὶ Ἀγγελάριος, τούτους δὴ καὶ ἄλλους πλείους  
 ὀνομαστοὺς σιδηροδέτους φυλακαῖς εἶχον ἐγκλείσαντες, ἐν αἷς  
 πᾶσα παράκλησις ἀπεγόρευτο, οὐ συγγενῶν, οὐ γνωστῶν θαρρούντων  
 οὐδὲ ὄπωσοῦν τὴν προσέλευσιν. 'Αλλ' ὁ παρακαλῶν τὸν ταπεινοὺς  
 525 Κύριος, οὐ τὸν συνετριμένους τὴν καρδίαν ίώμενος, οὐ διὰ τῶν  
 παρακλήσεων εὐφραίνων ψυχὴν ἀντιμετρουμένων τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὀδυνῶν,  
 παρεκάλεσε τὸν ἀγίους ἔξαποστείλας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἔξ αγίου  
 βοήθειαν.

36. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ σιδήρῳ τῆς ἀλύσεως βαρυνόμενοι  
 οὐδὲ οὕτως ἡμέλουν τῆς προσευχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῆς τρίτης ὥρας  
 530 ὥδας ὑπάσαντες, εἴτα καὶ τὸ τῶν ψαλμῶν ἐφύμνιον προσεπήδον, δι'  
 οὐ τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ὥρᾳ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐπιπεμφθὲν  
 ἐγκαινισθῆναι ἡμῖν εὐχόμεθα. Θεός δὲ ἐπιβλέψας ἐπὶ τὴν  
 γῆν ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν τρέμειν, καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο, ὡσπερ ἐν  
 τοῖς δεσμοῖς ποτὲ Παύλου προσευχομένου, καὶ ὡς ἔξ οὐρανοῦ ἥχος  
 535 καὶ αἱ ἀλύσεις ἐξέπιπτον καὶ οἱ τέως δέσμοι ἀνετοι, μόνω  
 τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πόθῳ ἀλύτως δεσμούμενοι.

497–498 βούλονται : βούλητο Ο : βούλοιτο BU 499 ἐκδιηγήσαιτο : ἐκδιηγήσεται OBU  
 500 δυναστείας κατὰ τῶν ὁρθοδόξων add. ID<sup>2</sup>; εἰργάσατο/δεινά τε καὶ πονηρά. Οἱ τὸν  
 βίον τῶν προειρημένων ὁρθοδόξων ἀνδρῶν ἀκριβῶς διεξέλθωσιν, ἔκεινοι μόνον καὶ  
 μάθωσιν οἰα καὶ πόσα. Hic desinunt ID<sup>2</sup> 509–510 Cf. Ioann. 15,14–15 511 Cf. Hebr. 3,8;  
 παρεδίδοσαν : ἀπεδίδοσαν OBU 514–515 Γοράσδος : γοράσδης OBU 517 Μεθοδίου :  
 Μεθοδίῳ OBU 519 λογιώτατος : ἐλλογιμώτατος OBU 523 Cf. 2 Cor. 7,6 524 Cf. Psalm.  
 146,3 524–526 Cf. Psalm. 93,19 526 ἔξαποστείλας : ἀποστείλας V 526–527 Cf. Psalm. 19,3  
 528 καὶ om. V 531 τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα : τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον V 532–533 Cf. Psalm. 103,32  
 533–535 Cf. Acta ap. 16,25–26

37. Συνέσεισε μὲν οὖν τὴν γῆν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ συνετάραξεν·  
έσεισθησαν δὲ ἄρα καὶ οἱ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην καὶ τῷ γεγονότι  
διεταράχθησαν ὥστε θαυμάζειν καὶ διαπορεῖσθαι τί ποτ' ἀνὴρ  
540 θεοσημεία βούλοιτο. Ὡς δὲ πλησιάσαιεν μὲν τῇ φυλακῇ, ἵδοιεν  
δὲ τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀγίους γενόμενον καὶ ὡς τῶν ἀλύσεων ἐκπεσουσῶν  
ἐν ἀνέσει πάσῃ διῆγον, τὴν θείαν ἀκουτισθέντες, ὡς ὁ Δαυίδ  
φησιν, ἀγαλλίασιν, δροματοὶ προσελθόντες τῷ ἄρχοντι, Τί τοῦτο,  
φάναι; Μέχρι τίνος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ μαχώμεθα δύναμιν;

545 Μέχρι τίνος πρὸς τὸ φῶς τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἀναβλέψουμεν, ἀλλ' ὀφθαλμοὺς  
ἔχομεν καὶ οὐ βλέπομεν, ὅτα καὶ οὐκ ἀκούομεν, οἵα τὰ  
παρὰ τῷ Δαυὶδ εἴδωλα, εἰς βούλει δέ μοι, οἱ παρὰ τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ τὸ  
πνεῦμα λαβόντες τῆς κατανύξεως; Οὐ συνήσουμεν τὸ γενόμενον  
θαῦμα; Οὐ τὴν θεοσημείαν δυσωπησόμεθα; Οὐ δεσμῶται μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς  
550 τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἔκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθέντας τιμῆς ἐσόμεθα;

38. Ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν αἱρετικῶν γλῶττα τὸ θαῦμα διαβάλλειν πειρᾶται  
πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Φαρισαίων τὰ τότε παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τελούμενα  
καὶ γοητεῖαι, φασί, καὶ μάγων τέχναι προφανεῖς ταῦτα,  
τρόπον ἔτερον τὸν Βελζεβούλ τῇ καινότητι τοῦ ἔργου ἐπιγραφόμενοι  
555 οἱ τῆς ἑκείνου ἐνεργείας κατάπλεω. Εἴτα πάλιν, ἔδει  
γάρ μὴ συνεῖναι τὸν ἀσύνετον ἄρχοντα, ἀλύσεις τοὺς ἀγίους εἶχον  
τῶν προτέρων βαρύτεραι καὶ κακώσεις ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ μᾶλλον ἢ  
πρότερον ἀπαράκλητοι. Τρεῖς παρῆλθον ἡμέραι καὶ πάλιν τὴν τῆς  
τρίτης ὥρας τελούντων προσευχὴν ταῦτα συμβαίνει τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν,  
560 σεισμός τε γάρ μετ' ἥχου ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ αἱ ἀλύσεις ἐκπίπτουσαι,  
καὶ πάλιν οἱ θεόμαχοι μηδὲν τῶν πραχθέντων τῷ ἄρχοντι ἐμφανίσαντες,  
ταῖς αὐτοῖς κακώσεσι τοὺς ἀγίους ὑπεβαλον, ὃν αὐτοὶ  
πάντως ἡσαν ἀληθείας ψηφιφορούστης ἄξιοι.

39. Ἀλλ' ἀντιφιλοτιμεῖται Θεὸς ἔτέρωθεν, ἐντεῦθεν τὸ πράγμα  
565 τῆς κακουχίας, ἐκεῖθεν τὸ δόγμα τῆς εὐθυμίας. Ἡμερῶν γάρ δέκα  
διαγενομένων, πάλιν ἐκ τρίτου ἀνατολῆς ἐξ ὑψους οἱ ἀσληταὶ ἐπεσκέψθησαν  
καὶ οἱ ἀπηλγηκότες αἱρετικοὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡσαν ἀνθίσι  
πωρώσεως καὶ τὸ διεστραμμένον οὐ κατηνθύνετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπεκοσμεῖτο  
τὸ τῆς γνώμης αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ γνῶσιν ὑστέρημα. Μᾶλλον  
570 μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄλγος τῶν τραυμάτων τοῖς ἀγίοις προσέθηκαν.  
ώς γάρ πρὸς τὸ πράττειν τὰ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντος  
ἔδεξαντο τὸ ἐνδόσιμον, ἐξάγουσι μὲν τὴν φυλακῆς, αἰκίζονται δὲ  
ταῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πληγαῖς, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, μήτε τῆς πολιαῖς μήτε τῆς  
ἀσθενείας, ἢν ἡ πολλὴ κάκωσις ἐπήγαγε τοῖς τῶν σώμασι, φειδὼ  
575 θέμενοι.

XIII. 40. Οὐκ ἥδει δὲ ἄρα τούτων οὐδὲν ὁ τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς ἑκείνοις  
δουλεύων ἄρχων, ἔτυχε γάρ ἀπών, ὡς εἴ γε παρῆν, οὐκ ἀν  
τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὄμολογηταῖς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνεπεδείξαντο. Κἄν γάρ μυριάκις  
580 τοῖς Σπαραγγοῖς προσετίθετο, τὴν τε τῶν ιερῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν  
έδυσωπεῖτο καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ θαῦμα τρισσεύσαντος, καίτοι

537 οὖν om. OBU; Cf. Psalm. 59,4 542 πάσῃ om. V 542–543 Cf. Psalm. 50,10 544 μαχώμεθα  
cōpt. G : μαχώμεθα codd. 545–546 Cf. Psalm. 113,13–14 et 134,16–17 548 Cf. Isa. 29,10 549  
δυσωπησόμεθα : δυσωπηθησόμεθα Ο 554–555 Cf. Luc. II,15 et Marc. 3,22 557 προτέρων :  
πρεσβυτέρων Ο 564 ἀντιφιλοτιμεῖται : ἀντιφιλοτιμεῖτο OBU 566 Cf. Luc. I,78 568  
κατηνθύνετο : κατηνθήνετο V; Cf. Eccl. 1,15

γάρ ἡμιθηριώδης ἦν καὶ ἀμείλικτος. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἀπανθρώπους ἐκείνας  
πληγὰς μηδὲ τροφῆς μεταλαβεῖν τὸν ἀγίους παραχωρήσαντες, οὐδὲ  
γὰρ εἴων οὐδένα τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλοις, μᾶλλον δὲ Χριστῷ,  
προσρίπτειν οὐδὲ ἄρτου κλασμάτιον, στρατιώταις ἀπάγειν ἄλλον ἀλλαχοῦ  
585 τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρὸν μερῶν παρέδωκαν, τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀειφυγίαν  
τῶν οὐρανοπολιτῶν καταψηφισάμενοι.

41. Παραλαβόντες οὖν τοὺς ἀγίους οἱ στρατιώται, ἄνθρωποι  
βάραβαροι, Νεμιτζοὶ γάρ, καὶ φύσει μὲν τὸ ἀνήμερον ἔχοντες, προσλαβόντες  
δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιτάγματι, ἐξάγουσι μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἀποδύσαντες  
590 δὲ γυμνούς ἔσυρον, καὶ δύο ταῦτα δι' ἐνὸς κατειργάζοντο·  
τό τε ἀσχημον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀεὶ τοῖς Παριστρίοις μέρεσι  
παγετώδους ἐπικειμένου κάκωσιν. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰ ξίφη τοῖς τραχήλοις  
έκείνων ἐπικατήγον ως πληξοντες καὶ τὰ δόρατα τοῖς πλευροῖς  
ἐπέφερον ως βαπτίσοντες, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἔνα θάνατον θάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ  
595 τοσαυτάκις ὁσάκις ἐλπίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις παρὰ  
τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐνταλθέν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέσχον πολύ, ἀφέντες  
αὐτὸν οἱ ἀπάγοντες τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐθίς ὁδοῦ εἴχοντο.

XIV. 42. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄμολογηταὶ μαθόντες τοῦ Κυρίου  
τοῖς διωκομένοις ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν πόλιν φεύγειν  
600 κελεύοντος Βουλγαρίαν ἐπόθουν, Βουλγαρίαν περιενόυσιν, Βουλγαρίαν  
τούτοις δούναι ἀνεσιν ἐπηλπίζετο. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην,  
εἰ μὴ τὴν ὁδὸν διακλέπτοιεν, ἀπεγίνωσκον ὅθεν καὶ πάντας ὀφαλμοὺς  
λανθάνειν ἐσπούδαζον, βρωμάτων, ἐνδυμάτων ἀποροῦντες, πάσης  
κακώσεως ἀπολαβόντες. Οὐκοῦν ἡναγκάσθησαν διὰ τὸ δέος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων  
605 διαιρεθῆναι καὶ δὴ ἄλλος ἀλλαχῆ διεσπάρησαν, Θεῷ τοῦτο δόξαν,  
ἵνα καὶ πλείω μέρη τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐμπειλάβωσιν.

XV. 43. Κλήμης μέντοι Ναοῦμ συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Ἀγγελάριον τὴν  
πρὸς τὸν Ἰστρὸν φέρουσαν ὥδενε καὶ κώμη τινὶ ἀπαντῶσι παρακλήσεως  
ἀξιώσοντες τὰ πεπονηκότα καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ σκεπασμάτων  
610 σώματα· ζητήσαντες δὲ τίς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ φιλόσθεος καὶ φιλόξενος κάπι  
βίου σεμνότητι μαρτυρούμενος καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
εἰρήνης νίός, ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦτον εὗρον, τούτῳ ἐπεξενώθησαν.  
Τῷ δὲ ἦν παῖς καὶ μονογενῆς καὶ καλὸς καὶ ἡλικίας ἔχων ἀνθηρῶς·  
615 ἄμα τε οὖν εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν οἱ ξένοι καὶ οἱ νίός ἐξῆλθε  
τοῦ βίου, ἐκεῖνος ὁ περικαλλής, ὁ μόνος ὀφθαλμὸς τῷ πατρί, τὸ τοῦ  
γένους ἔρνος τὸ εὐθαλέστατον.

44. Τί παθεῖν οἰεσθε τὸν πατέρα, τί δὲ οὐκ εἰπεῖν, τοσοῦτον  
πένθος ἐπὶ τῷ ποδὶ τῶν ξένων ἐλεεινῶς δυστυχήσαντα. Καλά γε ταῦτα  
τῆς φιλοξενίας μισθώματα. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν ψύραν ὑμῖν ἀνέφεξα, ἵνα  
620 μοι ὁ οἶκος ἀποκλησθείη τὸν κληρονόμον ἀποβαλάων; Ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλον, ἵνα τὴν μόνην ἐμοὶ δεξιὰν ἀποβάλωμαι. Ὡ πικρᾶς  
ταύτης ἡμέρας, ὅτε τῇ κώμῃ προσήλθετε, ὡ σκοτεινοῦ τούτου  
φωτός, δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκίαν ὑμᾶς ὀδηγήσε. Τάχα γόητες ὑμεῖς  
καὶ τῷ μόνῳ Θεῷ ἐχθροὶ καὶ ταύτην ἔχω παρ' ἑκείνου τὴν δίκην,  
625 ὅτι τοὺς ἀπηχθημένους αὐτῷ τῆς ἐμῆς στέγης ἡξίωσα. Πολλοὺς μὲν

582 μεταλαβεῖν τοὺς ἀγίους : παραλαβεῖν τοῖς ἀγίοις OBU 596 ἐνταλθέν : ἐνταλθέν V 599  
πόλιν om. V 599–600 Cf. Matth. 10,23 602–604 ὅθεν...ἀπολαβόντες om. V 608 ὥδενε : ὥδενον  
OBU 609–610 καὶ...σώματα om. O 610 φιλόσθεος καὶ om. V 611–612 Cf. Coloss. 3,15 612  
τοιοῦτον : τοῦτον OBU 613–615 Τῷ...πατρί om. V 618 ποδὶ τῶν ξένων : παιδὶ τοῖς ξένοις  
OBU 618–625 καλά...ἡξίωσα om. V

καὶ ἄλλους ἐδεξάμην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καρποφορῶν  
Θεῷ καὶ εἰσάγων τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀλλ’ ἐπλήνυνέ μοι τὰ ἔνδον  
ὁ Κύριος καὶ οὐχ ὑπέρβρεον, ἀλλ’ ἐπέρρεον καὶ τὴν δαπάνην  
προσθήκην εὔρισκον καὶ τὸ ἐπ’ εὐλογίας σπέρμα θέρος εὐλογημένον,  
630 πεπληθυσμένον γεώργιον. Νῦν δὲ, ἀλλ’ ὡς μοι φίλατε παῖς,  
τὸ πάντων κτημάτων ἐμοὶ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ χαριέστατον, μᾶλλον  
δὲ καὶ σπλάγχνων τῶν ἐμῶν φίλτερον καὶ ζωῆς αὐτῆς ποθεινότερον,  
τῇ τῶν καταράτων τούτων ἐσφαγιάσθης εἰσόδῳ. Τελχῖνες ἀτεχνῶς  
οὗτοι, δαίμονες φόνιοι, θανάτοις παίδων ἐπιτερπόμενοι ἀλλ’ οὐ  
635 γάρ ἐκφεύξησθε τὴν δίκην, κὰν πάντα καταμαγεύσητε, χερσὶ δὲ  
πατρὸς ἐμπεσόντες νίδον πενθοῦντος δι’ ὑμᾶς, νίδον καλὸν καὶ μονογενῆ  
πάντων δὲν εἰργάσασθε τὴν ἀξίαν νῦν ἀποτίσετε. Καὶ δὴ  
δεσμὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔκάλει καὶ κολαστήρια.

45. Οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐχ ἦτον τοῦ πατρὸς ἔπασχον,  
640 καὶ τί γὰρ ἡ συμπαθεῖς ψυχαὶ καὶ φιλάνθρωποι; Πλέον δὲ εἶχον καὶ  
τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι. Τῇ δὲ πίστει θαρρήσαντες, ἡ πάντα δυνατὰ κατὰ  
τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα, εἰς εὐχὴν μὲν τραπέσθαι  
διέγνωσαν· τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς τὸ φλεγματίνον τῆς ὄργης καταψῶντες ἡπίως  
καὶ σκληρὸν τοῦ δικαίου θυμοῦ μαλάττοντες, ἡμεῖς, ἔφασαν,  
645 ὃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνθρώπε, οὕτε γόργες ἐσμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσι  
πάντα τὰ χειρίστα ἐπαρώμεθα. Θεῷ δὲ λατρεύομεν τῷ ἀληθινῷ ὃν  
εἶναι καὶ πυλωροῖς ἄδου φρικτὸν ἀκηκόαμεν τε καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν,  
ὅς καὶ χειρὸς ἐπαφῆ καταπαλαίει τὸν θάνατον καὶ φωνῇ μόνῃ τετραπημέρῳ  
καὶ ὁδῷ διὰ νεκρῷ τὴν ζωὴν ἐπιδίωσιν. Εἰ τοίνυν ἡμᾶς  
650 οἵτινος εἶναι θανάτου τῷ σῷ παιδὶ, θάρρει τὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, πεποίθαμεν  
γάρ ὅτι δι’ ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ τὴν ζωὴν χαρίσεται Κύριος. Καὶ δὴ  
τῷ παιδὶ ἐπευξάμενοι, ὃ καινοῦ θαύματος, ὃ τῆς ἀεὶ λαμπούσης  
σου χάριτος σῶτερ Χριστέ, τῷ ποιοῦντι πατρὶ τὸν νίδον ζῶντα  
παρέστησαν.

46. Τί τοίνυν ὁ πατήρ; Οἱ ἄγιοι, οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλοι,  
οἱ σωτῆρες τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας, ἐκραύγαζεν, οὐδ’ ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι  
ῶν ὑπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς, ἀλλὰ παράβακχόν τι καὶ ἔξεστηκός κεκραγώς,  
σύγγνωτε μοι, πατέρες ὅσιοι, σύγγνωτε, ἀγνόημα ἡγνόησα ἐφ’ ὑμῖν  
πάσης εὐθύνης ὑπέρτερον, ἀλλ’ ἴδον πάρεστιν ὑμῖν τὰ ἐμά,  
660 πάρειμι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῶν οἰκέτης ἐσόμενος, ἀπολαύσατε τῶν ἐμῶν,  
χρήσασθε μοι ὅ τι καὶ βούλεσθε, μόνον ὄρφων τὸν παῖδα ὃν  
ὑμεῖς μοι νῦν ἐγεννήσατε.

XVI. 47. Οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν πίστιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προσηκάμενοι,  
πρὸς δὲ τὴν προκειμένην ὄδὸν κατασπεύδοντες, μόνοις ἐφοδίοις  
665 τὴν δεξίωσιν αὐτοῦ περιγράψαντες, τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἰστρὸν φέρουσαν  
ῶδενον, σὺν πολλῇ παραπεμφέντες τιμῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ καταξιωθέντος  
ἔκείνου τοῦ θαύματος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ Ἰστροῦ  
γενόμενοι ἔωρων τὸ ῥέῦμα πολὺ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄπορον, ξύλα  
700 τρία συνδήσαντες φιλύρας φλοιῷ, τῇ ἄνωθεν δυνάμει φρουρούμενοι,  
τὸν ποταμὸν διεπέρασαν, καὶ κατακλυσμὸν αἰρέσεως φεύγοντες,  
ξύλοις κατὰ θείαν ἐπιφροσύνην ἐσώθησαν καὶ τῇ Βελγράδῳ –

626–627 Cf. Rom 7,4 629–630 Cf. 2 Cor. 9,6 631–632 τὸ...ποτεινότερον om. V 641–642 Cf.  
Luc. 18,27 642 Cf. Iob. 38,17 648–649 Cf. Ioann. 11,39 657–658 παράβακχόν...ὅσιοι om. V  
658 σύγγνωτε<sup>2</sup>/μοι add. O 660 ἀπολαύσατε...ἐμῶν om. V 663–749 Οἱ...προετίθετο om. V

πόλις δὲ αὕτη τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν ἐπισημοτάτη – προσελθόντες,  
Βοριτακάγγω τῷ τότε φυλάττοντι ταύτην ἐνεφανίσθησαν  
καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπήγγειλαν μαθεῖν θέλοντι. Ὡς δὲ  
675 ταῦτα μαθών, ἐκεῖνος ἔννοιαν ἔλαβε τοῦ μεγάλους εἶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας  
καὶ Θεῷ πλησιάζοντας, δεῖν ἔγνω πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα Βουλγαρίας  
Βορίσην οὐπερ αὐτὸς ὑποστράτηγος ἦν, ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς  
ἕνεοντος· ἥδειν γάρ τὸν διψῶντα τοιούτον ἀνδρῶν ἐκ μακροῦ. Ἀναπαύσας  
οὖν αὐτούς, εἴτα τῷ ἄρχοντι δῶρον πολύτιμον ἔπειψε, δηλώσας  
αὐτῷ τοιούτους εἶναι τούτους οίους αὐτὸς ἐπόθει πόθῳ  
σφοδρῷ.

48. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ Βορίσῃ προσέλθοιεν ὑποδεχθέντες ἐντίμως  
καὶ ὡς ἔδει τοὺς τὰ πάντα σεμνούς τε καὶ σεβασμίους, ἐπηρωτῶντο  
τὰ κατ’ αὐτούς. Οἱ δὲ πάντα κατέλεγον ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀχρι τέλους  
685 μηδὲν ἐλείποντες. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα, ὁ ἄρχων μεγάλως ηὐχαρίστησε  
τῷ Θεῷ τοιούτους αὐτῷ θεράποντας, τῇ Βουλγαρίᾳ εὐεργέτας  
ἐναποστείλαντι, διδασκάλους τε καὶ καταρτιστὰς δωρηταμένων  
τῆς πίστεως, οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας ἄνδρας, ἀλλ’ ὄμοιογητάς τε καὶ  
μάρτυρας. Στολάς τε οἰκείας ιερεῦσι δοὺς καὶ πάσῃ τιμῇ δεξιωσάμενος,  
690 οἰκήσεις αὐτοῖς ἀπονεμηθῆναι προσέταξε τὰς τοῖς πρώτοις  
τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἀφωρισμένας καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς τῶν χρειώδων  
δαψίλειαν περιεποιήσατο, εἰν ἔκεινος εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ περὶ τι μικρὸν  
τῶν ἀναγκαίων τοῦ σώματος τοῖς τῆς φροντίδος λογισμοῖς  
ἐπιστρέφεσθαι τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν σχολῆς ἀφαιρεῖται πάμπολιν. Εἶχε δὲ  
695 αὐτὸν ἔρως δριμὺς τοῦ καθεκάστην τούτοις προσδιαλέγεσθαι καὶ  
παρ’ αὐτῶν ίστορίας ἀρχαίας καὶ βίους ἀγίων ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι καὶ  
τὰ τῶν γραφῶν διὰ στόματος αὐτῶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι.

49. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσον ἦν περὶ αὐτὸν γένους τε ὅγκω καὶ  
πλούτου βάρει τῶν ἄλλων προέχον, οὗτοι τοῖς ἀγίοις προσφοιτῶντες  
700 ὡς παῖδες ἐξ διδασκάλων, ἡρώτων πάντα τὰ σωτηρίας ἔχόμενα  
καὶ πηγῶν ἀντλοῦντες ἔκεινων τῶν ἀενάων αὐτοῖς τε ἔπινων  
καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις τοῦ νάματος μετεδίδοσαν καὶ σφοδροὶ τοῖς ἀγίοις  
ἐνέκειντο, εἴ πως αὐτοὺς πείσαιεν ἔκαστος τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ  
705 ἐπιβῆναι, ἀγιασμὸν τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν διδασκάλων ἡγούμενοι καὶ  
ὅπου ἀν δωσιν οἱ τρεῖς οὗτοι, οἱ τὰ πάντα καὶ ψυχὰς συνηγμένοι  
καὶ σώματα, ἐκεῖ παρεῖναι πιστεύοντες καὶ τὸν Κύριον. Τοῖς ἀγίοις μέντοι  
τὸν ὄχλον φεύγουσιν, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τὸ υμῆρες τῷ ἄρχοντι  
τελεῖν σπεύδουσιν, οὐκ ἐκδόκει ταῖς οἰκίαις παρέχειν ἐαυτοὺς  
710 τῶν πολλῶν, εἰ μὴ ὁ θεοφιλῆς ἔκεινος ἀρχων αὐτοῖς  
ἐπιτρέψειεν.

50. Ὁθεν καὶ τις Βουλγάρων ὁ Ἐσχάτης τὴν κλῆσιν, σαμψῆς  
τὸ ἀξίωμα, τῷ ἄρχοντι προσελθόντων ἡξίωσε συμπαραλαβεῖν εἰς  
τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ὄσιῳ Ναοὺμ τὸν ιερώτατον Κλήμεντα· καὶ ὅς,  
715 ἦν γάρ κεχαρισμένος αὐτῷ ὁ τὴν αἴτησιν ποιούμενος, ἔτοιμος κατένευσε,  
καὶ μετὰ πάσης, ἔφη, τιμῆς τοὺς διδασκάλους ὑπόδεξαι, ἀχρις  
ἀν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τελείως τὸ πρακτέον οἰκονομήσωμεν.

51. Ἀγιάζεται καὶ Τζασελάβφ τὸ οἴκημα τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει  
‘Αγγελαρίου, καὶ τούτῳ γάρ αἰτησαμένῳ τοῦτον δὴ λαβεῖν τὸν διδάσκαλον  
οἱ ἄρχων τὴν χάριν δέδωκεν. Ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐμελλεν ἄρα τῆς

674 ἐαυτοὺς : αὐτοὺς O 687–688 Cf. I Thess. 3,10 705–706 Cf. Matth. 18,20

720 ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτου παρουσίας ἀπολαῦσαι Τζασελάβος ἐπὶ μακρόν. Ζήσας  
γάρ Ἀγγελάριος παρ' αὐτῷ χρόνον τινὰ χερσὶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων οὐκ ἀηδῶς  
ἐναπέψυξε.

52. Κλήμης δὲ καὶ Ναοὺμ παρὰ τῷ Ἐσχάτῃ διῆγον, πάσης  
μὲν τιμῆς ἀξιούμενοι, μειζόνων δ' ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὶ καὶ φιλοτιμοτέρων  
725 τῶν δωρεῶν, δσφ τὰ πνευματικὰ σπείροντες, τὰ σαρκικὰ τοῦ  
ἀνδρὸς ἐθέριζον.

XVII. 53. Εἶτα – οὐ γάρ ἀνίει πάντας κινῶν λογισμοὺς ὁ τοῦ  
Θεοῦ ὄντως ὑποστράτηγος Μιχαὴλ, ὃν καὶ Βορίσην ὁ λόγος ὠνόμασεν,  
εἴ πως ἄπασαν ἀσχολίαν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔργον τοῖς ἱεροῖς  
730 ἀνδράσι παρασκευάσει – Θεοῦ τὸν λογοσμὸν τοῦτον ὑποβαλόντος  
αὐτῷ, διαιρεῖ μὲν τὴν Κουτμιτζινίτζαν ἐκ τοῦ Κοτοκίου, προϊστᾶ  
δὲ αὐτῆς Δομετᾶν, παραλύσας τὸν Οὔτρον τῆς διοικήσεως, παραδίδωσι  
δὲ τῷ Δομετᾶ τὸν μακάριον Κλήμεντα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν Δομετᾶν  
Κλήμεντι ἦ, τὸ γε ἀκριβέστερον εἰπεῖν, ἐκάτερον ἐκατέρῳ, τὸν  
735 μὲν ὡς τὰ πάντα ὑπῆκοον, τὸν δ' ὡς ὑπουργῷ τούτῳ τὰ βουλητέα  
χρησόμενον. Διάσταλος γάρ ὁ Κλήμεντος τῆς Κουτμιτζινίτζας ἐστέλλετο,  
πρόσταγμά τε κατὰ πάντων ἐφοίτα τῶν ταύτην οἰκούντων τὴν  
χώραν φιλοτίμως τὸν ἄγιον δέχεσθαι καὶ πάντων ἀφθονίαν αὐτῷ  
καὶ τῶν περιττῶν παρέχεσθαι δώροις τε ἀξιοῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀρωμένων  
740 τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐναποτεθειμένον τῆς ἀγάπης θησαυρὸν δημοσιεύειν  
πρὸς ἄπαντας.

54. Καὶ τὸ δυσωπητικώτερον, αὐτὸς ὁ Βορίσης τρεῖς οἴκους  
τῷ τρισμακαρίῳ Κλήμεντι τῶν ἐπιμέλειαν περιττῶν ἐν Διαβόλει  
προσαναθέμενος τοῦ γένους τῶν κομήτων ὄντας, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ κατ'  
745 Ἀχρίδα καὶ Γλαβηνίτζαν ἀναπαύσεως τόπους αὐτῷ ἐχαρίσατο.

XVIII. 55. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοιαῦτά τε καὶ τοσαῦτα  
καὶ οὕτως ἡ θαυμασία ψυχὴ τὸν ἐπὶ Χριστῷ πόθον εἰς τὸν Χριστοῦ  
θεράποντα, καθόσον ἐνῆν, ἐκέασα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς τιμίας  
ταύτης φιλοτιμίας ἀρχέτυπον προετίθετο.

56. Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Κλήμεντος οἰδα; Ἄρα ταῖς τιμαῖς  
χαννωθεῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ ὃ ἡναυτὸν λογισάμενος, εἶτα καὶ τρυφερώτερον  
ἔζησε, πάντα ἥδη κατωρθωκέναι οἰόμενος; Ἀπαγε, ἀλλ'  
ῶσπερ μήπω μηδενὶ θεραπεύσας Χριστόν, ἀρχὴν τοῦ περὶ τὸν λόγον  
ἀγῶνος καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ κήρυγμα σπουδῆς ταύτας δὴ τὰς τιμὰς  
755 καταβάλετο καὶ ὅπως μὴ ψεύσῃ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίδων  
οὐδέποτε φροντίζων ἐνέλιπεν. Ἀμέλει καὶ τὰς χώρας ταύτας  
περιιδῶν ὃν ἐμήνησθημεν, τοῖς ἐθνεστὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ σωτήριον μεγαλοφώνως  
κατήγελε, καὶ πᾶσι μὲν κοινῶς περὶ τῶν σωτηριῶδων  
τε τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντολῶν καὶ τῶν θείων δογμάτων διαλεγόμενος καὶ  
760 πειθῶν ὡς βίος σεμνὸς χωρὶς δογμάτων ὑγιῶν νεκρὸς τῷ ὄντι καὶ  
όδωδῶς καὶ δόγματα χωρὶς βίου πρὸς ζωὴν οὐκ εἰσάγουσιν· δὲ μὲν  
γάρ εἰοικέναι ποιεῖ τυφλῷ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἔχοντι, τὰ δὲ βλέποντι  
μέν, χεῖρας δὲ καὶ πόδας ἡκρωτηριασμένῳ.

57. Ἐχων δέ τινας ἐκλελεγμένους τῶν ἄλλων καθ' ἐκάστην  
765 ἐνορίαν οὐμενοῦν ὀλίγους, εἰς τρισχιλίους γάρ καὶ πεντακοσίους

725–726 Cf. I Cor. 9,11 732 Οὔτρον : οὔτρον BU 753 μηδενὶ/μικρὸν add. V 755–756  
καὶ...ἐνέλιπεν om. V 756 καὶ om. OBU; ταύτας : πάσας OBU 759 Θεοῦ : χριστοῦ V 760 ὡς/  
καὶ add. OBU 762 τὰ : τῷ O : τῷ BU

ἡριθμοῦντο, τούτοις τὰ πλείω συνήν καὶ τὰς βαθυτέρας  
τῶν Γραφῶν ἀνεκάλυπτεν.

58. Ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους οἰκειοτέρους  
αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων διὰ τὰ σπλάγχνα τῆς χρηστότητος ἐποιήσατο  
770 καὶ πάντοτε συνῆμεν αὐτῷ πᾶσι παρακολουθοῦντες  
οἵς ἐπραττεν, οἵς ἔλεγεν, οἵς δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐδίδασκεν. Οὐκ εἴδομεν  
οὖν αὐτὸν ἐσχολακότα ποτε· ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδασκε  
καὶ τοῦτο ποικίλως, τοῖς μὲν τὸν τῶν γραμμάτων χαρακτῆρα γνωρίζων,  
τοῖς δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων νοῦν σαφηνίζων, ἄλλοις πρὸς τὸ  
775 γράφειν τὰς χεῖρας τυπῶν καὶ οὐχ ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ  
νυκτός, ἢ προσευχῇ ἑαυτὸν ἐδίδουν ἢ τῇ ἀναγνώσει προσεῦχεν ἢ  
βίβλους ἔγραφεν. Ἐστιν δέ τε καὶ δυσὶν ἔργοις κατὰ ταύτὸν ἐμερίζετο,  
γράφων καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν μαθημάτων τι ὑφηγούμενος.  
Τὴν γάρ ἀργίαν ἥδει πᾶν κακὸν διδάξασαν, ὡς ἡ πᾶν καλὸν διδάξασα  
780 Σοφία διὰ τίνος τῶν αὐτῆς ὑπηρετῶν ἀπεφθέγξατο.

59. Οὐκοῦν ἄριστοι πάντων οἱ τούτου μαθηταὶ καὶ βίῳ  
καὶ λόγῳ γεγόνασιν· ἔδει γάρ τοὺς οὔτω μὲν καλῶς φυτευθέντας,  
οὔτω δὲ ἐπιμελῶς ποτισθέντας καὶ ύπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ αὐξηθῆναι· ἐκ  
τούτων ἀναγνώστας καὶ ὑποδιακόνους καὶ διακόνους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους  
785 τελεῖ· καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ ἐνορίαν τριακοσίοις μαθηταῖς ἐνευθηνεῖτο  
χωρὶς τῶν μισθίων αὐτῶν, μηδὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι συντελοῦσιν,  
ἀλλὰ Θεῷ στρατευομένοις καὶ τούτῳ τελεῖν τεταγμένοις,  
μᾶλλον δὲ ἀποδιδόναι. Καὶ ταῦτα Κλήμης δι' ὅλων ἐπτὰ ἐνιαυτῶν  
κατειργάσατο.

XIX. 60. Ἡδη δὲ ὅγδοόν τι ἡν αὐτῷ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἔτος καὶ  
790 ὑπερον τῆς ζωῆς τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ δούλῳ Μιχαὴλ τῷ Βορίσῃ, τῷ ἡγιασμένῳ  
Βουλγαρίας ἄρχοντι. Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ τούτου οὐδὲς  
Βλαδιμῆρος· τέταρτον δὲ ἔτος ἐπιβιοὺς τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
ἐγένετο καὶ κληρονόμος πάντων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν, δὲς καὶ  
795 βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἀνεκτηρύχθη Βουλγάρων· τοῦτον ἐγέννησεν ὁ Μιχαὴλ  
κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ χαρακτῆρας  
ἀπαραποίητους ἀποσώζοντα τῆς χρηστότητος. Καὶ πᾶσι μὲν γάρ  
ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἦν, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς σεμνότητα τρόπων ἐπαγγελλομένους  
καὶ βίου χριστιανικωτάτην ἐμφάνειαν· πίστην θερμὴν  
800 ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ τῷ ζήλῳ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Θεοῦ κατησθίετο· καὶ  
τοίνυν τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑστέρημα ἀνεπλήρωσεν, ἐπανξήσας τὸ θεῖον  
κήρυγμα καὶ ταῖς ἀπανταχοῦ δομηθείσαις ἐκκλησίαις ἐγκαταστήσας  
τὴν ὄρθοδοξίαν ἀσάλευτον καὶ τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμῳ πλατεῖαν δεδωκὼς  
όδὸν καὶ ἀστενοχώρητον.

XX. 61. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολὺν ἡ φήμη τὸν Κλήμεντα ποιοῦσα καὶ τῆς  
805 περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξης ἀεὶ καθιστῶσα μείζονα καὶ εἰκότος τὰς ἀναβάσεις  
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ διατιθέμενον εἶλε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κατ' ἄκρας  
Συμεὼν καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ διδασκάλου ἐραστὴν πεποίηκε, μετακαλεῖται  
μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν ἄγιον καὶ εἰς λόγους δὲ αὐτῷ ἐρχεται

768 δὲ/καὶ add. V 769 Cf. Coloss. 3,12 772 οὖν om. OBU; τοὺς om. V 777 Ἐστιν ὅτε : ἔστι δ'  
ὅτε Ο; καὶ om. O 779 Cf. Sap. Sir. 33,28 782–783 Cf. I Cor. 3,6–7 783 τοῦ om. OBU 784 καὶ  
διακόνους om. V 785 μαθηταῖς om. V 785–786 ἐνευθηνεῖτο ο : εὐθηνεῖτο ΒU  
788 ἀποδιδόναι : ἀποδιδόντι OBU 790–816 Ἡδη...πιστεύοντες om. V 796 Cf. Gen. 1,26 800  
Cf. Psalm. 68,10 806–807 Cf. Psalm. 83,6 807 ἄκρας/ό add. O

810 καὶ τρυγήσας ἀγιασμὸν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ προσχήματος – ἦν γὰρ  
τὸ εἶδος καὶ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς αἰδεσμότατος ὁ μακάριος – πολλὰ  
τὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων χώραν ἐπαινεῖν εἶχε καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν βασιλείαν μακαρίαν  
τιθέναι, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἀγαθὸν παρὰ Θεοῦ δέδεκτο.

62. Μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῖς συνετωτέροις τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν σκοπήσας,  
815 οἵ πάντες ὡς πατρὶ προσεῖχον τῷ Κλήμεντι, τοῦτο μόνον ἀρέσκειν  
Θεῷ, ὅτι τιμῶσι τοῦτον πιστεύοντες, ἐπίσκοπον Δραγβίστας  
ἥτοι Βελίτζας προβάλλεται· καὶ οὕτω δὴ Βουλγάρων γλώττῃ  
πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος ὁ Κλήμης καθίσταται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς  
ἐγκεχειρίστο, τὸ τῆς ἀξίας ὑψος ὑποβάθρων τῆς πρὸς  
820 Θεὸν ὑψώσεως ἔθετο καὶ τοῖς προτέροις κόποις πολλαπλασίως  
προσέθηκε.

XXI. 63. Σολομὼν μὲν οὖν φησίν· ὁ προστιθεὶς γνῶσιν προστίθησιν  
ἄλγημα, Συμεὼν δὲ τῷ Κλήμεντι προστιθεὶς τιμὴν προσέθηκεν  
ἄλγημα. Εὐρὺν γὰρ τὸν τῆς ἐνορίας ταύτης λαὸν παντάπασι  
825 θείου λόγου καὶ Γραφῶν ἀνομίλητον καὶ μηδὲν πεπαιδευμένον τῶν  
ἐκκλησίαν κοσμούντων καὶ λαὸν τατόντων τῷ τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ  
κοσμιότητος πνεύματι, οὐκ ἐδίδου ὑπνον τοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς οὐδὲ νυσταγμὸν  
τοῖς βλεφάροις, ἀλλὰ τροφὴν καὶ τρυφὴν τὴν περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐποιεῖτο  
μέριμναν· καὶ ἀεὶ ἐδίδασκε καὶ ἀεὶ διέταττε τὴν ἄγνοιαν  
830 διορθούμενος, τὴν ἀκοσμίαν κοσμῶν, πᾶσι τὰ πάντα κατὰ τὴν  
ἐκάστου χρείαν γνόμενος, τῷ κλήρῳ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν  
εὔκοσμίαν καὶ ὅσα τῶν ψαλμῶδιῶν τε καὶ εὐχῶν ὑφηγούμενος, ὥστε  
τελέσαι τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν μηδὲν μηδενὸς περιβοήτων  
ἀποφερομένους τὰ δεύτερα, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν κατὰ πάντων ἐπὶ  
835 πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπαινετοῖς στεφομένους· τῷ λαῷ τὰς γνώμας στηρίζων ἐπὶ  
τὴν πέτραν τῆς ὁρθῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας καὶ τὸ τῆς πίστεως  
αὐτοῖς κατασκευάζων στερέωμα· παντάπασι γὰρ ἡσαν ἀμαθέστατοι  
καὶ τὸ ὄλον εἰπεῖν κτηνωδέστατοι.

64. Τί δέ; Λόγω μὲν οὕτως ἔτρεφε τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ  
840 καρδίας ὄντως στηρίζοντι· ἥμελει δὲ καὶ τοῦ σωματικῶς τρέφειν  
ὅσους τοιαύτης τροφῆς ἐπιδεῖς εὑρίσκεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀν ἐξ ἡμισείας  
ἐμμείτο τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, δὸν ἥδει μετὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ ἄρτοις  
τοὺς ἀγνώμονας τρέφοντα. Διὸ καὶ πατήρ μὲν ἦν ὁρφανῶν καὶ  
χηρῶν βοηθός, πάντα τρόπον αὐτῶν κηδόμενος· ἡ δὲ ψύρα παντὶ ἀπλῶς  
845 ἀνέωκτο πένητι καὶ ξένος ἐκτὸς οὐκ ηὐλίζετο.

XXII. 65. Σκοπὸν δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸν μέγαν ἐποιεῖτο Μεθόδιον καὶ  
πρὸς ἑκεῖνον ἀπευθυνόμενος μὴ ἀποτυχεῖν ἡπείγετο τε καὶ ηὔχετο  
καὶ οἴον τινα πίνακα σοφοῦ τὴν τέχνην ζωγράφου τὸν ἑκείνου βίον  
καὶ τὰς πράξεις τῆς οἰκείας ἀγωγῆς προστησάμενος, ἐαυτὸν ἐξωγράφει  
850 πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπιμελῶς· τὸν γὰρ τούτου βίον ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος  
ἐγίνωσκεν, οἷα ἐκ νέου ἔτι καὶ ἀπαλοῦ ἐκείνῳ παρηκολουθηκὼς καὶ  
ὄφθαλμοῖς πάντα τὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου παρειληφώς.

816 ὅτι corr. G.: ὁ codd. 816–817 Δραγβίστας: δρεβενίτζας OBU 817 Βουλγάρων:  
Βουλγαρίαν OBU 817–818 καὶ... καθίσταται om. V 822–823 Cf. Eccl. 1,18 827–828 Cf. Psalm.  
131,4 830–831 Cf. I Cor. 9,22 835 στεφομένοις: στρεφομένοις OBU 836–837 Cf. Coloss. 2,5  
839 Cf. Ioann. 6,32 840 Cf. Psalm. 103,15 842–843 Cf. Ioann. 6,11 843–844 Cf. Psalm. 67,6 844–  
845 Cf. Iob. 31,32

66. Συνιδῶν δὲ τὸ τοῦ λαοῦ παχὺν καὶ περὶ τὸ νοῆσαι Γραφὰς  
ἀτεχνῶς δερμάτινον καὶ ιερεῖς δὲ πολλοὺς Βουλγάρους δυσχυνέτως  
855 ἔχοντας τῶν γραικικῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων, εἰ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Γραικῶν  
περὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἐνετρίβησαν γράμμασι, κάντευθεν κτηνώδεις  
ὅντας ὡς μὴ ὄντος Βουλγάρων γλώσση πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου, ταῦτα τοίνυν  
συνεγνωκὼς μηχανᾶται καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ καυθαιρεῖ τὸ τῆς ἄγνοιας  
τεῖχος τῷ μηχανῆματι. Λόγους γὰρ συντεθεικῶς εἰς πάσας  
860 τὰς ἑορτὰς ἀπλοῦς καὶ σαφεῖς καὶ μηδὲν βαθὺ μηδὲν περινενοημένον ἔχοντας,  
ἄλλ' οἴους μὴ διαφεύγειν μηδὲ τὸν ἡλιθιώτατον ἐν Βουλγάροις, διὰ  
τούτων τὰς τῶν ἀπλουστέρων Βουλγάρων ψυχὰς ἐνέρψατο, γάλακτι ποτίσας  
τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους στερεωτέραν τροφὴν προσήκασθαι καὶ Παῦλος ἄλλος  
τοῖς Βουλγάροις Κορινθίοις ἄλλοις γενόμενος. Δι' αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν τε  
865 Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ Χριστῷ τελουμένων ἔορτῶν ἔξεστι μαθεῖν τὰ μυστήρια.  
Καὶ τῆς πανάγου Θεοτόκου ταῖς μνήμαις, πολλάκις, ὡς ἵστε,  
γινομέναις τοῦ ἔτους, ἐγκάμια καὶ διηγήσεις τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν  
θαυμάτων διὰ τῶν λόγων ὁ Κλήμης περιφιλοτίμηται· οὐδὲ τὸν  
βαπτιστὴν εὐρήσεις ἀνεγκωμίαστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς  
870 αὐτοῦ θαυμαστὰς εύρεσεις μαθήση καὶ προφῆτῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων  
ἐντεύξῃ βίοις καὶ περιόδοις καὶ μαρτύρων ἀθλοῖς πτερωθήση πρὸς  
τὸν ἐκείνους διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῶν προσλαβόμενον. Ποιθεῖς καὶ  
πατέρων ὄσιων ἀγωγὴν καὶ ζηλωτῆς εἰ πολιτείας ἀσάρκου μικροῦ  
καὶ ἀναίμονος. Εὐρήσεις καὶ ταύτην Βουλγάρων γλώττη πονηθεῖσαν  
875 τῷ σοφῷ Κλήμεντι· φέρονται γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα παρὰ τοῖς φιλοπόνοις  
σφρόμενα. Τί ἔπι; Καὶ ψαλμικοῖς κανόστι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπύκνωσε,  
τοῦτο μὲν εἰς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀγίων συντεθειμένοις, τοῦτο δ'  
εἰς τὴν πανάμωμον τοῦ Θεοῦ μητέρα, ἱκετηρίοις, εὐχαριστηρίοις.  
Καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντα τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ οἵς μνήμαι Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγίων  
880 φαιδρύνονται καὶ ψυχαὶ κατανύττονται Κλήμης τοῖς Βουλγάροις ἡμῖν  
παρέδωκε.

XXIII. 67. Ταῦτα δὲ κάν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθετο, ὃ ἐν  
'Αχρίδι ἐδείματο, ἔτι περιόντος τῷ βίῳ τοῦ μακαριστοῦ Βορίσου,  
πρὶν ἡ πάντως τὴν τῆς Βελίτζας ἐπισκοπὴν ἀναδέξεται. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ  
885 εἶδε τοῦτον τὸν ἀρχοντα πᾶσαν τὴν ύπ' αὐτὸν Βουλγαρίαν ἐπτὰ καθολικοῖς  
ναοῖς περιζώσαντα καὶ οἴον τινα λυχνίαν ἐπτάφωτον τῇ πίστει  
ἀνάψαντα, ἡθέλησε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν 'Αχρίδι οἰκεῖον δείμασθαι μοναστήριον.  
τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐτέραν ἐκκλησίαν προσέθηκεν, ἥν υστερον ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς  
890 υρόν τον ἔθεντο καὶ οὕτως ἡσαν ἐν 'Αχρίδι τρεῖς ἐκκλησίαι,  
μία μὲν ἡ καθολική, δύο δὲ τοῦ ιεροῦ Κλήμεντος, μεγέθει  
μὲν πολλῷ τῆς καθολικῆς βραχυτέρα, σχήματι δὲ περιγένεφ καὶ  
κυκλοτερεῖ ταύτης ἐπιτερπεστέρα. "Εσπευδε γὰρ διὰ πάντων τὴν  
τῶν Βουλγάρων περὶ τὰ θεῖα βαθυμίαν ἐκκρούεσθαι καὶ τῷ κάλει  
τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐφελκομένους συνάγεσθαι καὶ διώς ἐξημεροῦν τὸ  
895 τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν ἀγριον καὶ ἀτίθασον καὶ περὶ θεογνωσίας ἀπόκροτον.  
Καὶ καὶ νόν οὐδὲν εἰ γνώμας ἀνθρώπων μεταβαλεῖν  
ἡπείγετο πρὸς τὸ ἡμέρον καὶ ἀνθρώπινον.

855 γραικικῶν : γραικῶν OBU 855–856 ἀναγνωσμάτων...Γραικῶν om. Ο 856 κάντευθεν  
om. Ο 858 καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. Ο; τοῦτο/ Hic desinit V 863 Cf. I Cor. 3,2886 Cf. Exod. 37,23 892 κυκλοτερεῖ  
: κυκλοτέραν Ο; ἐπιτερπεστέρα : ἐπιτερπεσταιρε Ο

68. "Οπου γε και πάση τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων χώρα δένδρεσιν  
ἀγρίοις κομώσῃ και καρπῶν ἡμέρων ἀπορούσῃ και τοῦτο  
900 τὸ καλὸν ἐδωρήσατο, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Γραικῶν χώρας πᾶν εἶδος ἡμέρων  
δένδρων μεταγαγάνων και τοῖς ἐγκεντρισμοῖς καθημερώσας  
τὰ ἄγρια, ἵν' οἶμαι και διὰ τούτου παιδεύσῃ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
ψυχὰς μεταποιεῖσθαι τοὺς χυμοὺς τῆς χρηστότητος και καρποφορεῖν  
Θεῷ τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ θείου θελήματος, ἥν ἔκεινος μόνην  
905 βρῶμα πεποίηται. Οὕτως ἄρα τῆς τῶν ψυχῶν ὀφελείας ὅλως  
ἐγίνετο και ὅπως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Κυρίου παντοιοτρόπως πλατάνη  
φροντίδα πεποίηται, μηδὲν δέ ἐπιστρεφόμενος τῶν τοῦ σώματος,  
μηδὲν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τιμίαν ἔχων ἔσυντὸς κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον,  
ἀλλὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἵνα σωθῶσι κηδόμενος.

910 XXIV. 69. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπης ἔχοντι τούτῳ και  
τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς Πατέρᾳ ως νίδις ἀγαπῶντι, ἄρα μικρὰ τοῦ ἀνταγαπᾶσθαι  
παρ' ἐκείνου μαρτύρια; Οὐμενοῦν, ἀλλὰ δοξάζει και  
τοῦτον ὁ Θεὸς θαυματουργῷ χάριτι· και πῶς ἐντεῦθεν ἀκούοιτε  
ἄν.

915 70. Ἐπάνεισι μὲν ἐκ Βελίτζας εἰς Ἀχρίδαν Κλήμης,  
ἄμα μὲν τοὺς τῆς χώρας ἐπισκεψόμενος εἰ τὰς ψυχὰς εἴεν εὔρωστοι,  
εἰ τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβῳ οἴνη τινι βακτηρίᾳ στηρίζοιντο,  
ἄμα δὲ και κατὰ σχολὴν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ συνεσόμενος,  
οὐ τοῦ κάλλονς ἑρῶν δυσφόρως εἶχεν ἄλλοισέ ποι περιελκόμενος.

920 Παράλιτοι δέ τινες δύο ὑπ' ὅψιν αὐτῷ πεσόντες ὀδεύοντι, δῶν ἄτερος  
πρὸς τῇ παρέσει και τοῦ πᾶσιν ἡδίστου φωτὸς ἐστέρητο,  
εἰς οἴκτον τὴν συμπαθεστάτην ψυχὴν ἐκίνησαν ἀλλ' ὅσον πρὸς  
οἴκτον ἔτοιμος, τοσοῦτον και πρὸς ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐπικλινής·  
μᾶλλον δὲ πλείων τοῦ ἐκείνῳ λαθεῖν θαυματουργοῦντι φροντίς

925 ἡ τοῖς παραλίτοις ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ τυχεῖν τῆς ίάσεως. Ταύτῃ τοι  
και περιβλεψάμενος κύκλῳ και μηδένα ἑωρακώς, ἀνατείνει μὲν  
τὸ ὅμμα εἰς οὐρανούς, αἱρει δὲ χειρας ὁσίας εἰς προσευχὴν  
και καθέλκει τὴν θείαν βοήθειαν, ἄπτεται χερσὶν ἐκείναις,  
αἵς τὴν εὐχὴν ἐπλήρουν, τῶν παραλελυμένων σωμάτων, και ἡ ἀφὴ

930 σύσφιγξις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο και συνάρθρωσις. Και τοῦτο δὴ τὸ  
τοῦ Ἡσαίου, ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἀλλόμενος ἦν ως ἔλαφος, πλὴν ὅσον  
οὐ χωλὸς πρὶν μόνον και μέλος ἐν πεπηρωμένος τοῦ σώματος,  
ἀλλ' ὅλος ἀκίνητος και μηδὲν τῆς γῆς διαφέρων ἐφ' ἣς κατέκειτο.  
Τῷ δέ γε και τυφλῷ ταχὺ ἀνέτειλεν ἴαμα, και φῶς ἰδὼν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ

935 τὸν Κύριον ἐμεγάλυνεν. 'Αλλ' οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἄρα παντάπασιν  
όφθαλμοὺς ἀνθρώπων λαθεῖν τὸ θαυματουργῆμα, ὥρανθη γὰρ τῶν τινι  
τοῦ ἀγίου θεραπευτῶν· δν ἰδὼν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος και γνοὺς  
θεατὴν ὄντα ἀθέατον, πρὸς γὰρ τῇ κέλλῃ κρυπτόμενος κατεσκέπτετο,  
ἐνεβριμήσατο τε ως πονηρευομένῳ και σὺν ἀπειλῇ μὴ ἔξειπεῖν τινι

940 τὸ γεγονός, ἄχρις ἂν τῷ κόσμῳ Κλήμης ἐνδημοίη, παρήγγειλεν.

XXV. 71. "Ηδη δὲ και γῆρας καμφθεῖς και πόνοις ἐκδαπανηθεῖς  
ἔκρινε τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν παρατήσασθαι, οὐχ ως λειποτακτῶν οὐδὲ  
τῆς τάξεως ἔξιστάμενος ἐν ἦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον αὐτὸν ἔθετο ποιμαίνειν

901 Cf. Rom. II,17 903 Cf. Rom. 11,22 903–904 Cf. Rom. 7,4 904–905 Cf. Ioann. 4,34 908 Cf. Acta ap. 20,24 909 Cf. I Cor. 10,33 927 Cf. I Tim. 2,8 931 Cf. Isa. 35,6 937 τῶν M : τοῦ codd.  
943–944 Cf. Acta ap. 20,28

τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ δι' εὐλάβειαν μακαριστήν τε  
945 και ἔνθεον· ἐδεδίδει γὰρ μὴ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείᾳ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ  
καταλύοιτο. Και δὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθών, ἄχρι μὲν, εἶπε, θεοσεβέστατε  
βασιλεῦ, ἀντεῖχε μοι τὸ σῶμα πρὸς πόνους και φροντίδας  
ἐκκλησιαστικὰς βαρυτέρας οὖσας τῶν πολιτικῶν, ως ἔγωγε πείθομαι,  
τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταλιπεῖν, ἷν αὐτὸς ἐνεχείρισέ  
950 μοι τῷ σῶμα προστείλει χειρὶ χρησάμενος, πάσαις ψήφοις ἐδόκει κατάκριτον  
και οὐδὲ μισθοτοῦ ἔργον· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ τοῦ λύκου ἐπίόντος  
φεύγειν και ἀφιέναι τὰ πρόβατα σύνηθες, ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἀπολογία  
μηδένα λύκον ὄρωντι τὴν ποίμνην ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ; Οὐκοῦν  
οὐδὲ κατέλιπον ἄχρι και ἐξ τόδε καιροῦ. Ἐπει δὲ μοι και τὸ γῆρας  
955 ὁρᾶς ὅπως ἐπίκειται και τῶν πολλῶν κόπων πλῆθος τὸ πᾶν  
παρείλετο τῆς δυνάμεως, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μερίμνησον και τὸν  
δυνάμεως εν σωματικῆς πρὸς τῇ πνευματικῇ ἔχοντα και νεαρώτερον  
τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς φροντίδας ἀναδεξόμενον τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου οἰκω  
ἐπίστησον. Ταύτην μοι τὴν τελευταίαν ἀξίωσιν πλήρωσον· δός μοι  
960 τὰς ὀλίγας ταύτας ἡμέρας ἐμαυτῷ προσλαβῆσαι και τῷ Θεῷ καλόν  
μοι πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μοναστήριον, τὸν ἐν τούτῳ χάρισαι  
θάνατον. Τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ και ταῖς φροντίσιν ἔτι κοινόν, στιβαρωτέρων  
δεομέναις μελῶν; Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀδυνατῶ, τίνος  
ἄλλου χάριν τῆς ἀξίας ταύτης μεταποιήσομαι; "Ἐργον γὰρ τὴν ἐπίσκοπην  
965 ὁ Παῦλος ἐκάλεσεν, ης ἀπέχειν προσῆκε τὸν τῷ ἔργῳ μὴ οἰκειότατον.  
Μὴ δὲ θελήσης τὴν ἐκκλησάν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὄνόματι ἀνιθήσασαν  
ὑπὲρ τὰς πολλάς, εἴτα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ μαραίνομενην ἰδεῖν  
ἀλλ' ὅπερ εἶπον, τὸ κάλλος αὐτῇ δι' ἐτέρων τῶν ἀκμαιοτέρων συντήρησον·  
κίνδυνος γὰρ οὐ μικρὸς διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀσθένειαν τὰ πράγματα  
970 φέρεσθαι.

72. Ο γοῦν βασιλεὺς τῷ καινῷ καταπλαγεὶς τοῦ ἀκούσματος –  
πλήττει γὰρ ἀπροσδοκήτως τὸ ἀθέλητον ἀκουόμενον – τί ταῦτα  
φάναι, πάτερ, λέγει; Πῶς ἀνασχοίμην ἐγώ θρόνοις ἐκείνοις ἰδεῖν  
σοῦ ζῶντος ἄλλον ἐπικαθήμενον; Πῶς τὴν ἐμήν βασιλείαν τῶν  
975 σῶν ἀρχιερατικῶν εὐλογιῶν ἐρημώσαιμι; 'Απαίσιος οἰωνισμός μοι  
τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καθαιρέσεως ή σὴ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς  
ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκατάλειψις. Εἰ μὲν οὖν παραλεπτικά τι τὴν σὴν ὁσιότητα,  
ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ πλημμελήσας, ως ἔγωγε οὐδὲν ἐμαυτῷ πεπλημμεληκότι  
σύνοιδα, και δὴ φειδόμενος ημῶν ως πατήρ οὐκ ἐκπομπεύειν ἐθέλεις  
980 τὴν ἐμὴν πρὸς σὲ παροινίαν, ἀλλὰ συσκιάζεις τὴν ἀληθινὴν  
αἰτίαν τῷ τῆς ἀδυναμίας προσχήματι, εἰπέ, δέομαι, ἐτοιμος ὑπέχειν  
εὐθύνας ἐγώ και ἰᾶσθαι τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ παῖς ἄλγεμα. Εἰ δὲ μηδὲν  
ἔχεις ημῖν ἐγκαλεῖν, τι λυπεῖν ἐθέλεις αὐτὸς τοὺς μηδὲν λυπήσαντας;  
Οὐ τὸν κλῆρον ἔχεις αἰτιᾶσθαι ως ἀπειδῆ και σκληραύχενα –  
985 πάντας γὰρ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου γεννήσας σαυτῷ και τῷ Θεῷ ὑποτέθεικας –  
οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ως τᾶλλα τῶν σῶν ἐνταλμάτων ἀφηνιάζοντας  
οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν σῶν ἐπίψογον. Τί τοινυν παῖδας ἔᾶς τὴν σὴν  
990 δύναρομένους ἀνεύλογον ἀναχώρησιν; Εἰ μὲν οὖν πείθοιο, πάτερ· εἰ  
δὲ μή, τολμηρὸς ὁ λόγος, κὰν πάντα λέγης, οὐ πείσομαι· κὰν πάντα  
ποιῆς, οὐ καμφθήσομαι. Παραίτησις γάρ, οἶμαι, μόνοις τοῖς ἀναξίοις  
ἀρμόδιον· σὺ δὲ πάσης ἀξίας ἐπέκεινα.

945–946 Cf. Rom. 14,20 951–952 Cf. Ioann. 10,12 964–965 Cf. I Tim. 3,1 985 Cf. I Cor. 4,15  
986 τᾶλλα corr. G. : τᾶλα codd.

**XXVI. 73.** Κάμπτεται τούτοις ὁ γέρων καὶ οὐδὲν παραιτέρω περὶ παραιτήσεως τοῖς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λόγοις προσθεῖς ὑποστρέφει μὲν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον, τὸν δὲ ἄνω βασιλέα τῷ αὐτοῦ σκοπῷ εὐρίσκει 995 συντρέχοντα. Ἀμα γὰρ τῇ ὑποστροφῇ νόσῳ μὲν καταβάλλεται προεγνωκὼς δὲ τὸν θάνατον, ἔξιτήριον δῶρον ταῖς Βουλγάρων ἐκκλησίαις χαρίζεται καὶ τὸ λεῖπον τῷ τριωδίῳ προστίθησι· τὸ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς καινῆς κυριακῆς ἅχρι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ψαλλόμενον τότε δὴ συνετέλεσε. Καὶ τοὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς ὁξυτέροις ἐντεῦθεν ἔστι τίς ἂν ἦν 1000 ἐρρώμενος τὸ σῶμα, δὲς κάν τῇ νόσῳ πόνοις ἑαυτὸν κατέτρυχεν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦν ὃντως ὁ ἕσω αὐτοῦ ἄνθρωπος τοσούτῳ μέτρῳ ἀνακαινούμενος, ὅσφερ ὁ ἔξωθεν ἐφθείρετο, καὶ κατὰ Παῦλον εἶχε λέγειν· ὅτε ἀσθενῶ τότε δυνατός εἰμι.

**74.** Τί ἔτι; Διατίθεται καὶ τοῦτο κανονικὸν περὶ τῶν βιβλίων αὐτοῦ ἀνέτοιςε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ περιουσίας, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς πάντα εἶχε καὶ δὲν ἐπλούτει μόνον, τὸν γὰρ καλὸν μαργαρίτην, ὁ σοφὸς ἔμπορος, ὀλίγα τῶν ὀστρέων φροντίζων. Καὶ τοίνυν πάντα διχῇ μερίσας, τὴν μὲν ἡμίσειαν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ, θατέρων δὲ μοῖραν τῇ μονῇ καταλέοιπε, δείξας κάντεῦθεν ὅπως δεῖται 1010 κτᾶσθαι καὶ χρᾶσθαι καὶ ὡς ἀμφότερα τῷ πρὸς Θεὸν νεύματι. Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τὴν τε κτῆσιν ἐκ πιστῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ βασιλέων ἔσχεν, οὓς οὐκ ἔδει πάντως ἀποψυχραίνειν τῇ παροράσει καὶ μάλιστα πεφυκότας βαρβαρικωτέρους· ἔδειξε δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος οἵς τὴν μυροφόρον ἔκείνην οὐ μόνον οὐ παρεῖδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπεδέξατο καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐνέταξε· τὴν ἀπόκτησιν τῷ μεγάλῳ Κλήμεντι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἄν τις ἄλλως ἐπαινετώτερον ἔθετο.

**XXVII. 75.** Οὕτως οὖν βιώσας καὶ οὕτω κοσμήσας τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεθέντα θρόνον αὐτῷ καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεὶς τῇ ἀρχῇ κατάλληλον καὶ τὸν ὄροφον τῷ θεμελίῳ εὐφυῶς ἐπιτρέποντα, πρὸς Κύριον 1020 εξεδήμησε. Τὸ δὲ θεῖον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν τιμὴν ἰσοστάσιον, ὅσιον ὄσιώς ὑμνηθέν τε καὶ τιμηθέν, τῆς μὲν ἀξίας καταδεέστερον, τῆς δυνάμεως δὲ οὖν ὅμως τῶν τιμώντων οὐκ ἐλλιπέστερον, τῷ ἐν τῇ μονῇ μνημείῳ ἐνετέθη, ὅπερ αὐτὸς οἰκείαις χερσὶ κατεσκεύασε, κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ προνάου μέρος, 1025 εἰκοστὴν ἑβδόμην τότε τοῦ ιουλίου μηνὸς ἄγοντος, ἐν ἡμέραις Συμεὼν βασιλέως Βουλγάρων, ἔτει ἔξακισχιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ εἰκοστῷ τετάρτῳ.

**XXVIII. 76.** Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν διέλαθεν οὐ μικρὸν τῆς τῶν ἀγίων συμψυχίας τεκμήριον. Πρὸ γὰρ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς εἶδον ἐν ὕπνοις 1030 τινὲς τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν Κύριλλόν τε καὶ Μεθόδιον προσελθόντας τῷ μακαρίῳ καὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου ἔξοδον αὐτῷ προσημαίνοντας.

**77.** Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν οὗτως ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἔδοξε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν βίον τοῦτον λιπεῖν, ἡ χάρις δὲ οὐκ ἀπέπτῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ χοῦς τοῦ διδασκάλου ἔτι καὶ νῦν εὐεργεσίας τελεῖ, πᾶν πάθος καὶ πᾶσαν νόσον ἴώμενος. Μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ ἡρός ἔκεινος χειρας καὶ πόδας, δὲς καὶ τῆς θείας τελουμένης ἱερουργίας τῷ ναῷ προσελθῶν

1000 πόνοις M : νόσοις codd. 1001–1002 Cf. 2 Cor. 4,16 1002–1003 Cf. 2 Cor. 12,10 1006–1007 Cf. Matth. 13,45 1013–1015 Cf. Matth. 26,6–13 1025 τοῦ om. O 1029 αὐτοῦ M : ἑαυτοῦ codd.; προσελθόντας M : προσελθόντες codd. 1033–1034 τοῦ διδασκάλου M : τῆς διδασκαλίας codd. 1034–1035 Cf. Matth. 10,1

τὴν ἵασιν εὔρατο. Ἡγνοεῖτο μὲν γὰρ τοῖς πολοῖς ὅστις εἴη καὶ ὅθεν ὡς δὲ τῇ θεραπείᾳ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν προσετίθει καὶ πολὺς ἦν τὴν ἔξομολόγησιν καὶ χεῖρας ἥρε τὰς ιαθείσας 1040 καὶ ταῖς βοαῖς ὀχληρὸς ἥδη τοῖς τῷ ναῷ παρευρεθεῖσι καθίστατο ἐρωτᾶται τὴν τῆς εὐχαριστίας αἰτίαν καὶ πάντα καταλέγει· εἶναι μὲν τῆς Ἀχρίδος καὶ αὐτὸς πολυετὴ δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ ταύτῃ δυστυχεῖν κάκωσιν· ἀμηχανίᾳ γοῦν οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ τῇ νόσῳ κρατούμενος, ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλέσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἀγίου τάφου προσκύνησιν ὅπως ὁ 1045 πάντα ισχύον ἐν Χριστῷ Κλήμης παράκλησις αὐτῷ γένοιτο· συρόμενος οὖν χερσί τε καὶ ποσὶ τῷ τοῦ ὄστιον προσελθεῖν μνήματι, εἴτα ἐν ἐκστάσει γενέσθαι καὶ τίνα γηραιὸν ἰδεῖν τῶν τριχῶν αὐτοῦ ἀψάμενον καὶ ἀναστῆναι διακελεύοντα καὶ ἄμα τῷ λόγῳ κρότον τῷ σώματι ἐπιγίνεσθαι, οἷον συγκρουομένων ὄστῖον, ἐώκεσαν 1050 δὲ ἄρα συναρθροῦσθαι τὰ μέλη καὶ ἀπλοῦσθαι τὰ νεῦρα πρὸς κίνησιν, εἴτα ἐν ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος, ὑγιῆς εἶναι, οὐκ ἔτι χεῖρας ἔηρός, οὐδὲν ἔτι πόδας ἔηρός, οὐκ ἔτι κήρωμα φύσεως· καὶ νῦν αἱρὼ χεῖρας πρὸς τὸν ταύτας ἐκτείναντα καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ἵσταμαι. Ταῦτα εἴπεν ὁ πρώην ἔξηραμένος, πηγάζων ἐκ 1055 βαθέων καρδίας ἔξομολογήσεως ῥήματα καὶ συμφονοῦντας εἶχε τοὺς παρεστῶτας καὶ λόγοις εὐχαριστηρίοις τὸν ὄστιον μεγαλύνοντας.

**78.** Καὶ τί δεῖ με τάδε καὶ τάδε καταριθμεῖσθαι; Τίς ἀγνοεῖ πόσοις μὲν δαιμονῶσι, πόσοις δὲ ἄλλως κακωμένοις 1060 ἀπαλλαγὴ τῶν ἐνοχλούντων κακῶν δεδώρηται, ἢ τῷ τάφῳ προσελθοῦσι ἢ ἐπικαλεσαμένοις τὸ ὄνομα μόνον, εἰ καὶ τὴν πίστιν εἶχον μεδ' ἑαυτῶν, τὴν δραστήριον ὄντως διάκονον; Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πᾶσα Βουλγάρων ἡλικίᾳ τῆς τοῦ ἀγίου χάριτος ἀπολαύοντες οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅσην τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ σπουδὴν ἐπιδείκνυται, ἔκαστος 1065 τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν συνεισάγοντες.

**XXIX. 79.** Ἄλλ' ὡς θεία καὶ ἱερὰ κεφαλή, ἐφ' ἣ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὴν καθέδραν ἐπήξατο· ὡς φωστήρ οὐχ ἡμέρας μόνης ἄρχων οὐδὲ μόνης νυκτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καταφωτίζων ἡμᾶς ταῖς χάρισιν, εἴτε πειρασμοῖς προσπαλαίοντες οἶόν τινα νύκτα τὸν τῶν πειρασμῶν ζόφον ἔχομεν, εἴτε ἀνέσεως ἀπολαύοντες ὡσπερ τινὶ φωτὶ φαιδρυνόμεθα· ὡς σάλπιγξ, δι' ἣς ἡμῖν ἐσάλπισεν ὁ Παράκλητος· ὡς ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς ὁ θεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν σῶν προβάτων τὴν ἀγίαν ψυχὴν καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἰδρώτων καταρτίσας Θεῷ τὸ ποίμνιον, 1070 εἰς τόπον χλόης κατασκηνώσας ἡμᾶς, τὰς διὰ τῆς σῆς γλώττης ἐρμηνευθείσας Γραφάς, καὶ ἐφ' ὑδατος ἀναπαύσεως ἐκθρέψας τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος καὶ ἐπὶ τρίβους ὁδηγήσας δικαιοσύνης, τὴν ἐργασίαν τῆς ἀρετῆς· διὰ σοῦ γὰρ πᾶσα τῆς Βουλγαρίας ἡ χώρα Θεὸν ἐπέγνωσεν, τὰς ἐκκλησίας αὐτὸς τοῖς ὄμνοις καὶ 1075 ταῖς ψαλμῳδίαις ἐπύκνωσας, τὰς ἐօρτὰς τοῖς ἀναγνώσμασι κατεφαίδρυνας· μοναστὰ διὰ σοῦ βίοις πατέρων ὁδηγοῦνται πρὸς ἄσκησιν· ἱερεῖς διὰ σοῦ τὸ κανονικῶς ζῆν πορεύονται· ὡς τρίπηχ

1044–1045 Cf. Phil. 4,13 1047 γηραιὸν: γέρων Ο 1049 Cf. Ezek. 37,7 1061 ἐπικαλεσαμένοις corr. Mk.: ἐπικαλεσομένοις codd. 1067–1068 Cf. Gen. I,17–18 1073 ὥ Hic desinit B 1073–1074 Cf. Ioann. 10,11 1075 Cf. Psalm. 22,2 1077 Cf. Psalm. 22,3

ἄγγελε καὶ οὐράνιε ἄνθρωπε, ὃ ἔλαία τῆς τῷ προφήτῃ προοραθείσης  
 1085 μὴ λειπομένη μηδὲ μικρόν, δτι μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς  
 πλείονας νίοὺς πιότητος προενέγκασα· ὃ τυφλῶν ὀδηγέ, ὅποτέραν  
 τις λογίσαιτο τύφλωσίν τε καὶ ὀδηγίαν, Κυρίῳ κατασκευάσας  
 λαὸν περιουσιον, ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων ὧν ἐν σοὶ ἔβλεπον.  
 80. Ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἐποπτεύοις τὴν σὴν κληρονομίαν,  
 1090 πάντως πλείω καὶ μείζω νῦν ἰσχύων ἢ πάλαι ὧν ἐν τῷ σώματι,  
 καὶ τὴν πονηρὰν ἀπελαύνοις αἵρεσιν, ἢ τῷ σῷ ποιμνίῳ νόσος λοιμώδης  
 παρεισεφθάρη μετὰ τὴν σὴν πάντως ἐν Χριστῷ κοιμησιν, ἢ  
 1095 διασπείρει καὶ διαφθείρει τὰ τῆς νομῆς πρόβατα, ἢν στήσαις,  
 ἄγιε ποιμὴν καὶ χρηστότατε; τηροίοις δὲ καὶ βαρβαρικῶν ἐπιδρομῶν  
 ἀπειράτους τοὺς σοὺς τροφίμους ἡμᾶς καὶ πάντοτε μὲν ἐφορῶν,  
 1100 μάλιστα δὲ νῦν ὅτε θλῖψις ἐγγύς, ὅτε οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ βοηθῶν,  
 ὅτε σκυδικὴ μάχαιρα βουλγαρικῶν αἰμάτων ἐμέθυσεν, ὅτε χεῖρες  
 ἀνέων τὰ θνητικὰ τῶν σῶν τέκνων τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
 ἔξεθνεντο βρώματα, ἀς θραύσεις τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ σοῦ θεραπευθέντος  
 Θεοῦ, εἰρήνην τῷ σῷ λαῷ χαριζόμενος, ἵνα σοὶ τὰς  
 ἔορτὰς συνιστῶμεν ἐν πάσῃ ἀγαλλιάσει, Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα  
 διὰ σοῦ δοξάζοντες τὸν ἔνα Θεόν, ὃ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ  
 καὶ προσκύνησις νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Αμήν.

1083–1084 Cf. Ierem. 11,16 et Hos. 14,7 1085 Cf. Zach. 4,14; Cf. Rom. 2,19 1087 Cf. Tit. 2,14  
 1088 ἐποπτεύοις : ἐποπτεύεις Ο 1092 Cf. Ioann. 10,12 1095 Cf. Psalm. 21,12 1096 χεῖρες :  
 χεῖρας Ο 1097–1098 Cf. Psalm. 78,2 1098 Cf. Exod. 15,6

## HISTORICAL COMMENTARY

**Title.** In my opinion the title of the Life correctly points that Theophylact is its author. That problem is solved in the Introduction with the tracing back the manuscript tradition and the authorship of the literary monument (cf. p. 62–71). The title has been certainly worded in its final form and expanded with some epithets, glorifying the author, in Ohrid at the scriptorium of the archbishopric, soon after Theophylact's death in the beginning of the XII century.

**I, 1.** The beginning is chequered with quotations from the Psalter, well known to Theophylact. Saturating the writing's beginning with citations from the Holy Scripture in order authorize their work was typical for the hagiographers of that time. The prophetic and instructive verses of the Psalter were used very often.

**I, 2.** A popular in ecclesiastical literature these is represented here: there are no reasons for the true servants of Christ not to keep their engagements whatever the circumstances. A curious parallel is shown up by P. Gautier (*Deux œuvres hagiographiques...*, 26), who compares that passage of St. Clement's Life with the following excerpt from the Treatise of presbyter Cosmas against the bogomils: "Do follow the example of the saint fathers and bishops, namely of Gregory, Basil, John and others, whose names mentioned intimidate the demons. And who will tell the story of their troubles and sorrows they went through for the people? The angels and the people rejoice at the reminiscence of them.

Let nobody be like Judas Iscariot among the Apostles, let nobody say: it's impossible in these times to be like them; they were saints, great and mighty and their times were good times, and now tough times came on.

O, fathers, let it never pass in your mind, because God who existed then remains now the same and will be for ever, and always and anywhere has mercy on those who are invoking Him!

Do follow the example of the new presbyter John, familiar to most of yourselves, who was a pastor and exarch of Bulgara.

And do not say: we can't be like that in these times! Everything is possible for God if we do wish it!" (Cf.: K. Бегунов. Козма Презвитер..., 391)

**I, 3.** The idea that St. Cyril and St. Methodius have propagated Christianity in Bulgaria and have baptized Bulgarian people is grounded on legendary information, used by the biographer (cf. the Introduction, p. 74). The question of Christianity in Bulgarian lands and the conversion of the Bulgarians is studied circumstantially by: B. Гюзелев (Княз Борис Първи, 51–102; cf. also the voluminous History of Bulgaria, v. 2, 213–219).

**II, 4.** According to the Life's author, St. Methodius "beatified the Pannonian diocese becoming archbishop of (the city of) Moravos". By the way in Codex Romanus (Angelicus graecus No 43), in the text preceding the copy of the Life, is mentioned that St. Methodius was consecrated archbishop of Morava. This indicates that in the photograph of the copy stood just such a form of the geographical denomination. In any case, however, the history and geography of Great Moravia of the second half of the IX century was unfamiliar to Theophylact. One of the most competent exposé on the Byzantine Mission to Great Moravia belongs to Vladimir Vavřinek (Die historische Bedeutung der byzantinischen Mission in Grossmähren).

**II, 5-6.** A vast body of writings have been accumulated on the creation of the Slavonic alphabet (cf.: Ив. Дуйчев, А. Кирмакова и А. Паунова. Кирило-Методиевска библиография, where references on bibliographies of works written before 1940 can be found). We may trust today in full the two Long Lifes of the brother-saints Cyril and Methodius, from where we learn the following major facts: at the middle of the IX

century the two brothers settled down in one of the biggest literary centers of Byzantium – on the mountain Olympus in Asia Minor. They created there a literary circle including their disciples of Slavonic origin, descending from the Slavs that inhabited the Balkan and a part of the empire territories of Asia Minor. With their help were created the first translations in Slavonic of parts of the Holy Scripture, using the graphical system invented by Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher. The Slavonic dialect St. Cyril and St. Methodius knew, and which their disciples were speaking, was the language of the so-called “Bulgarian Slavs”. Thus the first writings of the Slavonic Literature were created in the language that became a little later the literary standard in the Bulgarian state. For the first time, however, the Slavonic books and alphabet created by Cyril the Philosopher, were used for education and liturgy during the Moravian Mission of the brother-saints Cyril and Methodius and their adherents (the most complete exposé can be found in the classical writing of *Francis Dvornik* – *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs*, 105–193).

**II, 7.** *St. Gorazd* have been a Moravian by birth, of noble origin, who knew Latin, Greek and Slavonic languages. He became adherent of St. Cyril and St. Methodius after they reached Great Moravia in 863. Gorazd was appointed by St. Methodius to inherit him at the archbishop's throne (cf.: Chapter VI, paragraph 23). Removed by the representative of the Frankish clergy – Wiching (on him cf.: Chapter VII, paragraph 24), he suffered imprisonment and tortures from the adversaries of the Cyrilico-Methodian cause in Great Moravia. His further destiny is unknown. *Fr. Dvornik* (in his cited writing, p. 196–197) proposed that Gorazd have survived the persecutions and was consecrated archbishop of Moravia by the legates of pope John IX in 899. Theophylact assigned for him (Gorazd) a leading role together with Clement in the struggle for saving the Cyrilico-Methodian cause in Great Moravia (cf.: from Chapter VII, paragraph 24 to Chapter XIV, paragraph 42).

*St. Naum* was one of the first disciples and adherents of St. Cyril and St. Methodius. A “Bulgarian Slav” by birth, he followed them together with Clement in their Moravia Mission. After Slavonic education and liturgy was banned in Moravia, he suffered together with the other eminent enlighteners repressions from the Frankish clergy. Expelled from the country by force, he took the road to Bulgaria together with Clement and Angelarius. Naum was kindly received by the prince of Bulgaria Boris I in 885–886 and headed the palatine literary circle of Pliska. Later, in 893, he took the lead of the literary school of Devol in the south-western parts of Bulgaria. In 905 he completed his monastery at the Ohrid lake (known today as “St. Naum”) where he was buried on December 23, 910.

*St. Angelarius*, one of the first disciples and adherents of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, was probably a “Bulgarian Slav” by birth as Clement and Naum were. After the routing of the Slavonic cause in Great Moravia, together with the other “coryphaei of the chorus”, he was maltreated and expelled from the country. He set off for Bulgaria together with Clement and Naum, where soon after his arrival he died in the capital Pliska. Together with Cyril, Methodius, Gorazd, Clement, Naum and Sabas (or Laurentius as we find out in Chapter XII, paragraph 35) he is commemorated as one of the Saints Heptarimoi by the Bulgarian Church. On *Sabas* and *Laurentius* we do not have another positive information. Survey articles on the writers mentioned above can be found in the Cyrilico-Methodian Encyclopaedia, v. 2–3, just coming of the press (v. 2 and 3 still in the press).

**III, 8.** The reason for arrival of St. Cyril, St. Methodius and their disciples in Rome mentioned here is just a fiction. In fact the activity of the Byzantine Mission in Moravia (863–867) was watched closely by the pope Nicolas I (858–867) in Rome. In the spring of 867 the tasks set initially to the mission were implemented and those who took part in it started their way back to Constantinople. Passing through the Slavonic principality of Kocel in Pannonia, they were kept for several months to educate a number of disciples there. That delay probably made them to miss the right season for navigation and they were forced to stop in Venice, from where intended to leave by sea for the

capital of the empire. Here they were found by the invitation from Rome. The pope wanted to be acquainted with the character of their activity. Probably in Venice they learned about the changes in Byzantium's government. I'm speaking of the coup d'état that dethroned emperor Michael III (842–867). Patriarch Photius (858–867 and for the second time: 877–886), the inspirer of the Moravian Mission, was removed from the throne too. This caused also the improvement of relations between the Byzantine and Roman Churches. With a view to all that pope Nicolas I decided to use the cause of the Slavonic enlighteners in Moravia and Pannonia for his own purposes – to put up a resistance against the Frankish clergy pretending for jurisdiction over the mid-Danube Slavonic lands. Thus not able to continue their way St. Cyril and St. Methodius went to Rome together with their adherents (cf.: *Fr. Dvornik. Byzantine Missions...*, 131–137).

**III, 9.** Pope Hadrian II (867–872) occupied the Apostolic Chair on December 14, 867, after his predecessor Nicolas I died on November 13 of the same year. There are some essential omissions in the description of the reception pope Hadrian arranged for St. Cyril and St. Methodius. The brother for example presented to him a part of the relics of St. Clement – the third bishop of Rome after St. Peter. Not only the translation in Slavonic, but the Slavonic liturgy was consecrated too (cf.: the Introduction, p. 72). Authentic description of the events is found in the Long St. Cyril's Life, Chapters XVII–XVIII (in: *Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения*, т. 3, 107–109; cf.: *Fr. Dvornik. Byzantine Missions...*, 137–139).

**III, 10.** Here we meet once more (cf.: Chapter II, paragraph 4) the same confusion of the episcopal title of St. Methodius, which shows that the hagiographer was not well acquainted with the historical geography of the mid-Danube Slavonic lands. According to the Long St. Methodius' Life, Chapter VIII (in: *Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения*, т. 3, 188–189) pope Hadrian II sent St. Methodius as a pontifical legate and bishop of the Moravian principalities. He (Methodius) occupied the ancient chair of Apostle Andronicus being “Pannonicus archiepiscopus legatione apostolicae sedis ad gentes fungens” (cf.: the letter of pope John VIII to bishop Anno of 873, in: MGH, Epistulae, 7, p. 286). That was an ideological justification of the act by which the pope put under jurisdiction of the Roman Church the mentioned Slavonic lands. That seriously affected the interests of the Frankish clergy pretending that these lands were their missionary territory. That controversy was followed by all the severe trials of Cyrilico-Methodian cause in Moravia and Pannonia.

**III, 11.** The death of Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher is described in details in Chapter XVIII of his Long Life (in: *Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения*, т. 3, 108–109) where is said that he spent not 10 but 50 days as a monk. Besides that the exact date of his Assumption is mentioned too – the fourteenth day of the month of February, the second indict, in the year 6377 since creation of the world (6377–5508=869 A. D.).

**IV, 14.** St. Methodius left for his episcopal seat probably not until the autumn of 869 when, after the unsuccessful campaign of the Franks against the Moravians, the prince of Blatno Kocel (861–874) rejected the Frankish influence too. That gave him an opportunity to accept the pontifical plan for transition of Moravia and Pannonia under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome. The question about where the seat of archbishop Methodius was situated is not definitely answered. According to the legends the mentioned Apostle Andronicus, one of the Seventy disciples of Jesus Christ, was the founder of the Sirmium Metropolitanate. In the time of St. Methodius, however, the ancient Sirmium (mediaeval Srem) together with its region was a part of the Bulgarian state. That's why prince Kocel most probably received St. Methodius in his principal seat – Blatnograd (today: Zolovar in Hungary. Cf.: *Fr. Dvornik. Byzantine Missions...*, 149–157; cf. also the entry “Блатноград” in KME, 1, 202).

**IV, 15.** As a pontifical legate to the Pannonian and Moravian Slavs St. Methodius naturally was in contact with the prince of Moravia Rostislav (846–870), the more so as

only two years earlier ended the successful sojourn of the Byzantine mission in Great Moravia, one of whose leaders the newly nominated archbishop of Sirmium was.

The information that St. Methodius kept in touch also with the Bulgarian prince Boris I (852–889) is of a legendary origin (cf. the commentary to Chapter I, paragraph 3). Under that Bulgarian ruler Christianity was imposed as the official religion of Bulgaria (864). The Byzantine emperor Michael III (842–867) became the symbolic godfather of the Bulgarian prince who obtained his name after the baptism. The Byzantine writers call him often just by that name – Michael. The long years lasting diplomacy of the prince towards Roman and Byzantine Churches was crowned with gaining the autonomy of Bulgarian Church (870). Fifteen years later Bulgaria gave shelter to the expelled from Great Moravia Cyril-Methodian disciples. Conditions for Slavonic education and literature were created. The liturgy in church started to be performed in Bulgarian language. A number of cultural and spiritual riches emerged. In 899 Boris yielded the power to his son Vladimir-Rasate, who attempted to change the direction of the country's foreign policy orientating it towards the Frankish empire and the papacy. An attempt was made for restoration of the rejected pagan cults of the Protobulgarians. In 893 under the leadership of the old prince Boris Vladimir was overthrown by a coup d'état and was replaced on the throne by the third son of Boris – Simeon. He continued in a brilliant way his father's activity, directed towards the cultural and political efflorescence of Bulgarian people. Prince Boris once again retired to the monastery and passed away on May 2, 907 (cf.: В. Гюзелев. Княз Борис Първи, passim).

IV, 16. There are two reasons usually pointed on why Theophylact ascribed to St. Cyril and St. Methodius the merit for Christening Bulgarian people. On the one hand, their authority among the Bulgarians supports and strengthens still more the significance of the act of Christening. On the other hand, Theophylact, who quite slightly knew Bulgarian history of the second half of the IX century, probably used popular legends widespread among the Bulgarians in his time (cf. the Introduction).

The year 6377 since creation of the world makes 869 A. D. (6377 – 5508 = 869). A detailed study of the question for the year of baptism of Bulgarian people shows that the imposing of Christianity as the official religion began in 864 (cf.: История на България, Т. 2, 213–218).

V, 17. The question about the “procession of Holy Ghost” is a cardinal one in the Christian doctrine. At the First Oecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325 all Christian Churches accepted the so-called Symbol of Creed, according to which the Holy Ghost “... proceeds from the Father too”. To that point of the text, reading in Latin “... qui ex Patre procedit...”, at the end of the VI century some members of the Spanish Church made an addition. They introduced the understanding that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and from the Son as well, which in Latin reads as follows: “... qui ex Patre *Filioque* procedit...”. That's why the controversy about the authenticity of that addition was called “*Filioque* controversy”. That innovation of the Spanish Church was not officially accepted by the Roman Apostolic Chair up to the XI century, but gained popularity in the Frankish Churches in the IX century. In the time of St. Methodius' activity in Moravia and Pannonia the Frankish missionaries were convinced supporters of “*Filioque*” (cf.: Fr. Dvornik. Byzantine Missions..., p. 163–165, 190–192; Theophylacti Achridensis orationes..., p. 97–105).

V, 18. The hagiographer omits to narrate about the time spent by St. Methodius as exile in Swabia (cf. the Long Life of St. Methodius in: Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения, т. 3, 189–190).

Svetopolk (870–894) was nephew of the Moravian prince Rostislav and a prince of Nitra (today in Czechoslovakia). In 870 he caught his uncle by fraud and handed him over to the Franks, becoming the only ruler of Great Moravia. In 874 he managed to make peace with the Frankish ruler and at the price of a formal vassalage strengthened his position in the country. In his time Great Moravia reached its highest territorial

expansion. Svetopolk played a negative role in relation to the Cyril-Methodian cause. He supported fully the Frankish clergy that gained the upper hand over the defenders of the Slavonic cause and led up to almost total decline of the Slavonic education and liturgy in the mid-Danube lands (cf.: KME, I, 349–354).

Eunomius of Cappadocia (IV c.) was one of the most prominent representatives of the so-called Anomian Christianity, according to which the Holy Ghost was not similar to the Father and the Son. As a bishop of Cyzicus (Asia Minor) Eunomius provoked a scandal with his ideas and was removed by emperor Constance II. In the time of emperors Julian and Jovian he lived in Constantinople and was in close collaboration with Aetius. In 383 he was exiled in Moesia (Asia Minor) by emperor Theodosius. The Anomian heresy was condemned at the Second Oecumenical Council in 381 with the active participation of Gregory of Nyssa, whose writing “Contra Eunomium” is preserved. Theophylact used it to expose the actions of the Frankish missionaries (cf.: PG, t. 45<sup>II</sup>, coll. 265–A, 281–AA).

V, 19. Theophylact explains the fact that Svetopolk “τοῖς Μεθοδίου λόγοις ἐλάχιστα προσεΐχε τὸν νοῦν” “... paid too little attention for the words of Methodius...” with the assertion that the new Moravian prince was “... a rough man who did not appreciate the good...” and tolerated the Frankish clergy, because they did not reproach him for his inclination to carnal pleasures. We have good reason not to believe the previous assessments, taking into consideration that very often in Christian Literature similar qualities are ascribed to opponents to the faith. An interesting parallel presents the characterization given by Regino abbot of Prum to the Bulgarian prince Vladimir-Rasate, who made an attempt to infringe upon the Christianity spreading in Bulgaria: “Interea filius eius (Vladimir-Rasate, the son of prince Boris I – I.I.) quem regem constituerat, longe a paterna intentione recedens, praedas coepit exercere, ebreitibus, comissionibus et libidinibus vacare, et omni conamine ad gentilitatis ritum populum noviter baptizatum revocare.” (Cf.: Reginonis Prumensis Chronicon, p. 580; cf. also: Ив. Дуйчев. Връзки между чехи, словаци и българи..., 354–365).

The real reasons for Svetopolk's preferences are to be found in the situation in Great Moravia at the beginning of his government. First of all after their temporarily removal (cf.: The Long Life of St. Methodius, Chapter X in : Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения, v. 3, p. 110) the Frankish missionaries came back to Great Moravia after 874 and continued unimpeded their activity. It can be assumed that the Moravian aristocracy almost entirely supported the Frankish clergy. According to the Frankish practice laymen who found churches became their proprietors and had the power to point the clergy needed for the purpose. At the same time the Moravian aristocracy have accepted the Christianity from Frankish missionaries and have been instructed after the tradition of their Church. Methodius was nevertheless a representative of the pope and thus secured the independence of Moravian Church of the pretensions of Passau's and Salzburg's bishops. That were the reasons for the hesitant attitude of the prince to the questions of church administration in the country (cf.: Fr. Dvornik. Byzantine Mission..., 167–170).

V, 20. With the words “καὶ Θεὸς τὸν ὄρχοντα ποιηλατῶν οὐκ ἐνέλειψεν” (“... and God was not tardy in punishing the prince...”) Theophylact most probably alludes to the destine of Great Moravia that collapsed from the strokes of the Hungarian invasion in 907–908. In confirmation of that assertion come the words of the anonymous St. Clement's and St. Naum's biographer: “And the Moravian country, as it was predicted by the saint archbishop Methodius, was soon requited by God because of the lawlessness of their acts and the heresy, and because of the dismissal of the orthodox fathers and their suffering from the heretics whom they (=the Moravians) belived. Not many years later there came the Ougri (=the Hungarians), a Peonian people, conquered their country and devastated it. And those who were not captured by the Ougri escaped to the Bulgarians. And their country remained deserted and submitted to the Ougri.” (Cf.: И. Иванов. БСМ, 307; KME, I, 354–355).

**VI, 21.** The Long Life of St. Methodius, Chapter XVII (in: *Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения*, v. 3, p. 192) says: "On Palm Sunday when all people got together he entered the church and, though feeble, pronounced blessings of the king, the prince, the clergy and whole the people and said: "Take care of me, children, up to the third day." That was just what happened. On the third day at daybreak he said: "To Your hands, Lord, I yield my soul" (Luc. 23, 46) and died in the hands of the priests on the sixth day of April, the third indiction, in the year 6393 since creation of the whole world."

According to modern chronology that is 6 April 885 (6393 – 5508 = 885).

**VI, 23.** For the particularization of those twenty four years in the course of which St. Methodius exercised the function of archbishop cf. the Introduction, p. 73.

The evidence that the priests, the deacons and the subdeacons in St. Methodius' diocese were two hundred in number is not confirmed by other sources. Scholars are usually sceptical about numerical data in hagiography writings.

The following evidence is to be found in Chapter XVII of St. Methodius' Long Life, mentioned in the previous note: "He started, however, to get near the time to get peace from the sufferings and a reward for his numerous labours. Then he was asked: "Whom do You nominate, honorable father and teacher, among Your disciples to inherit Your teaching?" He pointed to them one of his notorious disciples named Gorazd and said: "He is a free man from your country, learned well in the Latin books and orthodox. Let God's will be on him as well as your and my love do." (*Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения*, v. 3, p. 192).

It can't be accepted that, according to that evidence, Gorazd "was nominated archbishop of Moravia" as Theophylact states. Gorazd was rather nominated to succeed St. Methodius' cathedra, but his consecration would really be contrary to the canon law St. Methodius was undoubtedly well acquainted with. In spite of all adherents of the Frankish clergy calumniated Gorazd to the pope that he was illegally enthronized archbishop. In the "Commonitorium" given by pope Stephen V (885–891) to his legates bishop Dominicus and presbyters John and Stephen, on the question of arranging ecclesiastical matters in Moravia the following is mentioned: "Successorem, quem Methodius sibimet contra omnium sanctorum patrum statuta constituere praesumpsit, ne ministret, nostra apostolica auctoritate interdicite, donec suam nobis praesentiam exhibeat et causam suam viva voce exponat." (Cf.: MGH, Epistolae, VII, p. 353). About Gorazd cf. the entry sub voce "Горазд" in: KME, I, 513–514.

**VII, 24.** Wiching was a Bavarian by origin, presbyter in Passau and leader of the Frankish missionaries in Moravia. At the request of Svetopolk he was consecrated bishop of Nitra by pope John VIII in 880, being a suffragan to Moravia's archbishop Methodius. Wiching often abused the letters of the popes aiming to compromise St. Methodius and his activity. After the death of the later he managed in due time to appear in Rome and got the right to arrange the ecclesiastical matters in Moravia. He abused once again the pope's bull (885) and took ecclesiastical affairs in hand. Svetopolk hoped to spread his own power to the west – in the lands of the declining Frankish state with the help of Wiching, but he betrayed him and became chancellor of the new Frankish ruler Arnulf (893). Cf. the entry sub voce "Вихинг" in: KME, I, 448–449.

**VIII, 27–28.** Theophylact calls the ideas of the adherents of the "Filioque" – "Manichaean mania" comparing them in this way to that ancient dualistic doctrine. According to the biographer the statement that Holy Ghost proceeds from two origins is the same dualistic heresy like the Manichaean dualism. On Manichaeism cf.: H.-G. Beck. Kirche und theologische Literatur..., p. 335 with all the references.

The Gospel of Thomas, not directly connected with Manichaeism, is saturated with dualistic spirit. It's one of the widespread non canonical books in Middle Ages, subjected to persecution from the Christian Church.

**IX, 30.** The First Oecumenical Council took place at Nicaea in 325 and the Second

– at Constantinople in 381. The text of the so-called "Symbol of Creed" expressing the official Christian belief about St. Trinity: God-Father, God-Son and Holy Ghost, has been elaborated at those two councils. The Second Council, where the question of the nature of Holy Ghost has been discussed, condemned the teaching of Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople. He preached that Holy Ghost is an unequalled part of St. Trinity. New postulates were added to the "Symbol of Creed" that completed the making of the official Christian doctrine on the question of St. Trinity (cf.: H.-G. Beck. Kirche und theologische Literatur..., 44–45 with the references to sources and literature).

**IX, 34.** The earliest St. Naum's Life mentioned the sold into bondage younger Moravian disciples of Cyril and Methodius: "And let it be known too... that the heretics tortured very much some of them and others – presbyters and deacons, they sold to the jews for money. The jews took them and carry them to Venice. And when they were selling them, at God's providence, from Constantinople came a king's employee on king's business. Learning about them the king's employee ransomed some of them and others simply took away and carry them to Constantinople and informed king Basil of them. And they were reinstated to their dignities and ranks they had previously – presbyters and deacons, and maintenance was given to them too. And nobody died in slavery, but some of them, protected by the kings, passed away at the town of Constantine and others who came to the lands of Bulgaria passed away in high honour." (Cf.: Й. Иванов. БСМ, 396; СБЛ, 4, p. 80).

**XII, 35 – XIII, 40-41.** The office of "didaskalos" was given to ecclesiastical missionaries in newly converted lands where the population still needed instruction in the rules of the new religion. Such office occupied the mentioned here well-known Cyrilo-Methodian disciples within the confines of the Moravian diocese (cf.: J. Darrouzès. Offikia, 66–79).

Fr. Dvornik (Byzantine Missions..., p. 193) supposed that the most notorious adherents of Slavonic enlightening and liturgy were imprisoned at Nitra – the residence of Wicing and a stronghold of Frankish influence in the country. To confirm this supposition he pointed to the fact mentioned in Chapter XIII, paragraph 40: that the Moravian prince was absent and did not know about the torturing of the arrested, which he otherwise wouldn't permit. After all in Chapter XIII, paragraph 41 is mentioned that the soldiers who mistreated the Slavonic teachers were Franks. At Nitra long ago existed a numerous Frankish community of merchants and missionaries and after Wicing became bishop he perhaps surrounded himself with an armed band of compatriots. The persecution of the adherents of the Slavonic cause after St. Methodius' death took place with their assistance.

**XIV, 42.** It's obvious that only the most eminent collaborators of St. Methodius, the "didaskaloi", were expelled from the country. They hoped to find trustworthy asylum in Bulgaria on several reasons. First of all Bulgarian lands were contiguous to Great Moravia down the valley between the rivers of Danube and Tisa. Nevermind where they were arrested – at the capital Velehrad or at Nitra, Bulgaria was the nearest country for them. On the other hand, most "didaskaloi" were for a long time Cyrilo-Methodian disciples, "Bulgarian Slavs" by birth. They came to Great Moravia as Byzantine missionaries and naturally looked for the most direct and secure route back to the empire. At that time (the autumn of 885) Bulgaria was in peace relationship with Byzantium on the ground of the treaty concluded in 863, just before the conversion of the Bulgarian people. After 870 Byzantine missionaries once again started to arrange the ecclesiastical organization of Bulgaria. All representatives of the higher clergy in the country were appointed among their circle. All that made Bulgaria a hospitable shelter for the refugees, all the more that there lived already most of the Slavonic tribes of the so-called "Bulgarian group" from which the Cyrilo-Methodian followers originated. At this juncture they regarded Bulgaria as their native land. (Cf.: Ил. Илиев. Климент Охридски..., 59–61 with reference to the basic literature on the question).

**XV, 43 – XVI, 47.** The biographer presented Clement, Naum and Angelarius moving to the south-southeast, down the road perhaps inbetween the rivers Danube and Tisa. By that way they would reach the Danube somewhere at the outfall of Tisa and after crossing the river they would land in Bulgaria near the fortress of Belgrad. There was the residence of the Bulgarian governor of the district, bearing the protobulgarian title “bori tarkan” (cf.: on it: KME, I, 233–234). Due to his lack of knowledge Theophylact took it for a proper name.

Prince Boris I watched closely the development of Slavonic enlightenment and liturgy in the mid-Danube lands. Predicting the dismal consequences for that activity after St. Methodius’ death he probably informed his governors in the north-west Bulgarian provinces of the awaited arrival of the Slavonic teachers expelled from Moravia. That’s why the bori tarkan in Belgrad “knew that Boris was yearning for such men”. The prince layed his hopes on those people to introduce Bulgarian language in the liturgy of the Church. That would be a firm barrier against some dangerous consequences of the Byzantine cultural influence in Bulgaria, noticed even in the first decades after the acceptance of Christianity through the medium of missionaries from the Constantinopolitan Chruch.

**XVI, 48–52.** Prince Boris started immediately to work out his plan for developing the Slavonic enlightenment and liturgy in Bulgaria. The three teachers who arrived at Pliska participated actively in that work. Their occupation and the importance of the activity did not allow them to be in everyday contact with the aristocracy in the capital which took a keen interest about them. Because of the recent death of Angelarius the responsibility to create and direct two education and literary centers – in the southwest and in the northeast parts of the country, fell on Clement and Naum. On the reasons of Clement’s departure from the capital cf.: *I. Iliev. La mission de Clément d’Ohrid...*, 55–56.

**XVII, 53.** One of the southwest Bulgarian districts in Early Mediaeval Times was called Kotokion(-os?). Koutmichevitsa was the name of one of its parts. Both toponyms are not to be found in other sources and do not exist today. All attempts for etymologizing the names or tracing the approximate frontiers of those districts are hypothetical. If Kotokion(-os?) was undoubtedly the major territorial unit, about Koutmichevitsa we can say only that the towns of Ohrid (today in the Republic of Macedonia), Devol (not existing today; situated usually in the Korcha valley – Albania) and Glavinitza (its localization near the modern village of Balshi in Albania is uncertain) were within its confines. Cf.: *I. Iliev. La mission de Clément d’Ohrid...*, 56–58; the entry s. v. “Девол” in: KME, I, 576–580.

Clement was sent to Koutmichevitsa as a “didaskalos” – an office he exercised in Moravia (cf.: Chapter XII, paragraph 35). Dometa was appointed administrative governor of the district replacing Kourt. In the Greek text we find the form Οὔτρον. (Οὔτρος = КОУРТъ – conjecture of V. Zlatarski. История, т. 1, ч. 2, 334–335). M. Voinov offered an emendation of that place of the text, based on the incunabula where the form Οὔτρον is replaced by αὐτόν. The translation of that passage offered by Voinov (Някои въпроси..., p. 303) is as follows: “He detached [took away] Koutmichevitsa from Kotokios whom he discharged from its government and appointed Dometa a governor.” That interpretation seems to me less trustworthy than the hypothesis of Zlatarski. In that case the manuscript tradition is not taken into consideration too.

**XVII, 54.** The “comites” were Bulgarian administrative functionaries, governors of some territorial units to which the country was divided in the IX–X centuries. From that place of the Life a conclusion is drawn that Devol was the capital of one of Bulgaria’s “comitatus” at the end of the IX century. St. Clement have settled and started his enlightening work at the houses Boris have presented him in Devol. Vestiges of the activity of the Devol educational and literary school are to be found up to the X century. There worked the anonymous disciple of St. Clement and St. Naum who compiled their

Life, not preserved today in the mass. (cf. the Introduction, p. 72–74). On the “comitatus” in Mediaeval Bulgaria cf.: *Ив. Венедиков. Военното и административно устройство, 56–95*, where an attempt to localize the different centers of provinces is made.

**XVIII, 57.** The meaning of “enoria” here is “area, district”, as it is in Chapter VI, paragraph 23. The particular ecclesiastical meaning of the word is not suitable to interprete that passage, because St. Clement did not occupy any office in the ecclesiastical hierarchy during the time of his teaching.

**XVIII, 58.** Theophylact identified himself with the direct disciples of St. Clement saying: “*Ημᾶς δὲ ... ἐποιήσατο*” (And us ... he has made us...). The probable reasons for that discrepancy to reality are discribed in the Introduction, p. 77–78

Some features of St. Clement’s enlightening activity are mentioned in Chapter XVIII, paragraphs 57–58. He was touring the towns and villages of Koutmichevitsa and selected young people who would devote themselves to literary, educational and priestly activity. To their qualification St. Clement spared major attention. Later they became the first Bulgarian teachers and clergymen. Children studied too in the school of Devol. The literary activity accompanied the enlightenment. At that time there was a great necessity of books written in the vernacular (cf.: *I. Iliev. La mission de Clément d’Ohrid...*, 59–62).

**XVIII, 59.** St. Clement in his capacity of “didaskalos” in Koutmichevitsa did not have the wright to ordain his disciples as clergymen. The evidence of that paragraph have to be considered in the sense that they were ordained at his recommendation.

The exemption of St. Clement’s disciples – the future Bulgarian teachers, writers and clerics, from taxes is an interesting example of the privileges that prince Boris provided for the recently developing Bulgarian Church.

The seven years of St. Clement’s teaching happened to be between 886 and 893.

**XIX, 60.** The eighth year of St. Clement’s teaching was 893, but it was not the last one of prince Boris’ life (he passed away on 2 May 907). Theophylact did not know well Bulgarian history of the end of the IX and the beginning of the X centuries. He was misled by the fact that in 893 after the change of government in Bulgaria (prince Vladimir-Rasate was dethroned by Boris who replaced him with his brother Simeon) Boris took power in hand for a short time. The enthronization of Simeon coming next Theophylact considered motivated by the death of his father (cf. the notes to Chapter IV, paragraph 15).

Prince Simeon the Great (Tsar since 913) led Bulgarian state from 893 to 927. He had probably the highest education among Bulgarian rulers aquiring great knowledge at the Magnaura school in Constantinople. Returning back home and assuming leadership of the state, he managed to create favourable conditions for a rapid economical and cultural efflorescence. During his rule Bulgaria rised up to the position of major political power in Europe’s Southwest. Accepting his father’s ideas, Simeon led personally the enlightening and literary activity in the country, took care of liturgy in Bulgarian language to be heard everywhere in Bulgarian churches (cf.: *И. Божилов. Цар Симеон Велики, passim*).

**XX, 62.** It is out of question that the archbishop of Bulgaria (and not the ruler) consecrated the bishops of the Church and Theophylact couldn’t but knew that fact. The deliberate way things are presented suited the biographer to gain his self-interest goals (cf. the Introduction, p. 76).

Where was St. Clement’s eparchy situated? That is a question on which different opinions have been given. The two toponyms in his episcopal title are not to be found in other sources and they are not familiar. It is accepted that the name of the Slavonic tribe “Dragoviti” or the territory they inhabited, to be precize, lies behind the Greek form Δράγουτι or Δράγουτα (cf.: *I. Dujčev. Dragvista – Dragovitia*). That district is located to the west of Thessalonica, down the river valley of Vardar which was named Velika in the Middle Ages (cf.: *Й. Иванов. Аксиос – Велика – Вардар*). It is well known too that in the

diocese of the Metropolitan of Thessalonica there was at that time an “eparchy of the Dragouviti”. That can be explained with the fact that the territory inhabited by the tribe at the end of the IX century was divided by the Bulgarian-Byzantine border that left the south part of the Thessalonica field in the confines of the empire. So St. Clement was consecrated bishop of the part of the Dragouviti that lived along the Mid-Vardar (Velika) valley and were subjects to the Bulgarian ruler. That district perhaps was known by two names – Dragouvitia, according to the name of its inhabitants and Velika – according to the Bulgarian name of the river that flowed across it. Taking into consideration all these I suppose that the episcopal title of St. Clement “ἐπίσκοπος Δραγουβίστας ἦτοι Βελίτζας” have to be comprehended as “bishop of the Dragouviti that live in the district of Velika” (I have studied that problem in more details in my work “Бележки върху биографията на Климент Охридски”, 100–104; another opinion is given in the entry “Епархията на Климент Охридски” in: KME, 1, 655–662).

St. Clement became “Βουλγάρων γλώττη πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος” (“the first bishop of Bulgarian language”) in the sense that he was the first Bulgarian, consecrated bishop of the Bulgarian Church, who served using Bulgarian language. The year of his consecration was 893 (after seven years of teaching in Koutmichevitsa: 886–893). Before that date episcopal chairs have been obtained only by Byzantine clerics.

**XXII, 65.** It is supposed that St. Clement drew closer to St. Methodius already when the latter was governor of a Slavonic “principedom” as it is mentioned in the Long Life of St. Methodius, Chapters II–III (cf.: *Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения*, т. 3, с. 187). That territory of the Balkan possessions of Byzantium, inhabited by Slavs, is not localized for sure. There St. Methodius spent several years round the middle of the IX century, whereupon he left with some of his followers including St. Clement for the monastery at Mount Olympus in Asia Minor (cf.: *Fr. Dvornik. Les légendes...*, 15–18; *Ил. Илиев. Климент Охридски*, 43–50. On the monastic center at Olympus cf.: *R. Janin. Les églises et les monastères...*, 127–191).

**XXII, 66.** This paragraph is a synopsis of St. Clement’s literary work which, according to the words of Theophylact himself, have been preserved at Ohrid in the monastery of our enlightener (cf. the beginning of Chapter XXIII, paragraph 67). Theophylact’s evidence is almost completely confirmed today by the preserved works of St. Clement (cf.: *Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения*, т. 2, 2–3). About fifty sermons – instructive and panegyrics, are written by the hand of our prime-teacher. The explanation of Christian feasts, rites and standard of behaviour is an often occurring theme in the sermons. To that group belong some model-sermons that were to be used in liturgy on different feasts. The instructive sermons are simple in form and content compared to the panegyrics. St. Clement’s hymnal works are slightly studied and on his participation in writing the Long Lives of St. Cyril and St. Methodius mere speculations have been made (the Introduction to vol. III of St. Clement’s complete works is not convincing about his authorship of those two works!). St. Clement’s literary work being a substantial part of Bulgaria’s literature of the Golden Age laid the strong foundations for development of Bulgarian literary language and literature in the next centuries and later – of the Russian and Serbian Literatures (cf.: *Кр. Станчев, Г. Попов. Климент Охридски*, 52–219).

**XXIII, 67.** St. Clement’s monastery was built at the place given to him by prince Boris in Ohrid (cf.: Chapter XVII, paragraph 54). The building was completed before 893 when St. Clement was consecrated a bishop. The excavations at Ohrid uncovered a part of the monastery complex with the church where St. Clement was buried after his death (cf.: *Д. Коцо. Климентовиот манастир „Св. Пантелејмон“...*; *eiudem, Нови податоци за историјата...*).

We have no evidence about the seven cathedral churches built by prince Boris. One of them is the so-called Great basilica at Pliska. On the rest different speculations are made.

The second church of St. Clement at Ohrid is not identified. Most probably it is “St. Theotokos Peribleptos” or “St. Sophia” (more details on that question I have published in my work “La mission de Clément d’Ohrid...”, p. 65, already mentioned).

**XXIII, 68.** In my opinion this paragraph is an allegorical picture of St. Clement’s enlightening work. It is unlikely that the fruit-growing tradition of the population living in the plains of West Macedonia have been interrupted, so that to be restored in the way described by Theophylact.

**XXIV, 70.** In these travels of St. Clement down the southwest parts of Bulgaria I see an echo of his activity as exarch “of the third part of Bulgarian kingdom” he was appointed according to the “List of Bulgarian archbishops” (cf.: *Й. Иванов. БСМ*, с. 565).

**XXV, 71-72.** There are different hypotheses explaining the “resignation” of St. Clement handed to tsar Simeon, most of them considering Theophylact’s report trustworthy. I want, however, to call attention to the whole episode, which is deeply penetrated by the desire (of the author) to show the reader an ideal model of relationship between a Christ-loving ruler and a legitimate prelate. The purposes of the biographer which that story served are too transparent (cf. the Introduction, p. 75–76). These are the reasons to suppose that we must be reserved to the value of that passage as a historical source.

**XXVI, 73.** The ecclesiastical hymns chanted from Low Sunday to Whitsunday are included in the so-called Pentecostarion. It is not clear if St. Clement translated the Byzantine original or compiled original writings. The size of the work makes some scholars suspicious about the genuineness of that evidence. Recently, however, some original Triod-writings of Constantine of Preslav – a contemporary of St. Clement’s, were discovered (cf.: *Г. Попов. Триодни произведения на Константин Преславски*). That suggests that the comparative analysis of Byzantine and Paleobulgarian specimens would shed light on that unclarified question.

**XXVI, 74.** After Bulgarian people fell under Byzantine power in 1018 St. Clement’s bishopric was not already a part of the diocese of Bulgarian Church. An original list of Bulgarian eparchies is presented by the charters of Byzantine emperor Basil II Boulgaroktonos (976–1025) given to the archbishop of Bulgaria after the conquest of the country (cf. on them: *Й. Иванов. БСМ*, 547–562). It is supposed that St. Clement’s works, preserved at his episcopal residence, have perished together with the memory of his parish. Up to the beginning of the XIII century, when archbishop of Bulgaria was Demetrius Chomatianus, the works of our prime-teacher were still preserved at St. Clement’s monastery in Ohrid (cf.: the Short Life of St. Clement, Chapter 8 in: *Ал. Милев. Гръцките жития...*, с. 178).

The destiny of those works after the fall of Bulgaria under Turkish yoke, when St. Clement’s monastery was turned into mosque and the relics of the saint were removed to “St. Theotokos Peribleptos” (from then on named “St. Clement”), is unknown. St. Clement’s works preserved today are latter copies (after the XII century) and are dispersed in different depositories and in theological collections various in type and origin (cf.: *Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения*, т. 1–2).

**XXVII, 75.** St. Clement passed away (or was buried) on 27 July 916. His grave have been discovered by Dimche Kotso at the place pointed by Theophylact (for Kotso’s work cf. the notes to Chapter XXIII, paragraph 67).

**XXVIII, 76-78.** After his death Clement was proclaimed a saint of Bulgarian Church. Legends about his thaumaturge relics got current (cf.: *Цв. Романска. Климент и Наум в народните предания; В. Стојчевска-Антиќ. Климент и Наум во народната традиција*).

The spontaneous acknowledgement of the people was followed by the ecclesiastical one. The first Short Life of the saint emerged written by some anonymous disciple of his from Devol (cf. on it the note to Chapter XVII, paragraph 54). Disciples of St.

Clement wrote a Service of their teacher too, that have been probably heard for the first time on the day set by the Church for commemorating the saint – 27 July, on the first anniversary of his death (cf. on that Service: Й. Иванов. БСМ, 324–327).

**XXIX, 80.** Most scholars are inclined to see in the “αἵρεσις λοιμώδης” (“pernicious heresy”) an allusion to the Bogomilism, spreading in Bulgaria at the beginning of the X century.

On the “σκυθικὴ μάχαιρα βουλγαρικῶν αἰμάτων ἐμέθυσεν” (“Scythian sword soaked with Bulgarian blood”) cf. the Introduction, p. 68–70

Theophylact is talking about feasts of the saint, using the plural tense. As a matter of fact in the beginning St. Clement was commemorated on the day of his Assumption – 27 July. Later a second feast-day emerged – 25 November, when the Church commemorated St. Clement of Rome (cf.: Б. Райков. Ранни календарни вести за Климент Охридски).

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## THE DESPOTS IN MEDIAEVAL BULGARIA

Ivan Al. Biliarsky

Studying the institutions of the Second Bulgarian empire, we have to rationalize them first of all as one of the main signs of belonging to the Orthodox (or Byzantine) commonwealth. This belonging, having been formed along many centuries, has got an impulse during the Evangelization and later – during the almost two-century Empire's dominion – gives us a chance to notice in the borrowings from the Empire something not alien and hostile, but the main signs of a cultural circle, undivided part of which was Mediaeval Bulgaria.

While the First Bulgarian empire preserves to a considerable extent some of old Turki features, the institutional and titular system of the period, covering the end of the XII and the XIV centuries, entirely follows the Romaic prototype. The question of the despot's rank, which is the subject of the actual study, belongs to the latter kind of cases. This one explains the frequent references to that title of the Empire in the course of narration.

We couldn't say, that the despot's dignity was a problem, being ignored by the modern historiography. On this subject did their researches two of the greatest connoisseurs of the Byzantine titular system – R. Guillard and B. Ferjančić. The work of the Yugoslavian historian gives to a considerable extent an answer to the question concerning the despot's title in the Empire. The aim of the actual study is to consider some principal problems, connected with that title in Bulgaria during the period from the XII to the XIV century. We are going to pay attention consecutively to the questions concerning its nature, practice of distributing, noticed deviations from the Romaic usage and also – to the problems about the rights, insignia and the titles of its bearers.

\* \* \*

The term δεσπότης is from Greek origin, but it has got an old Indo-European root. The word decomposes to δεσ–πότης. The first part of the word – δεσ– (from δεμσ) is an old Genitive form of δω, δῶμα = δόμος = a home and second part, –πότης (in Latin -potis, potestas) is from the root, connected some sense of ability, mastership, strength etc.<sup>1</sup> So the literal translation and the initial meaning of the word is "a home-master", but still during the Antiquity it acquires, on the whole, the meaning of "master". During the Pagan period the word δεσπότης = dominus (Lat.) hasn't got any special different sense. But after the Age of Constantine the Great two Greek words with quite close meaning – κύριος and δεσπότης – became something usual in the vulgar language for designation of the Emperor<sup>2</sup>. And while the first one was concentrated on the sacred

<sup>1</sup> Prellwitz, W. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprachen. Göttingen, 1905, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Guillard, R. Recherches sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: le despot, δεσπότης. – REB, 17, 1959, 52–53; Фејранчић, Б. Деспоти у Византији и јужнословенским земљама. Београд, 1960, с. 3.